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## Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

### *THE TWO ABRAHAMS.*

From the Richmond Dispatch, Jan. 3.

IT appears, from Yankee correspondents, that "Abraham" is the popular name for the picaninies in the contraband camps. The negro mothers delight in bestowing that name upon their "fine little boys," and Yankee scribes delight in recording such a compliment.

It is unfortunate enough to be a free negro, but to be christened Abraham Lincoln is adding insult to injury. There have been two Abrahams, however, in the history of the world, and though it was not intended to honor the first by the application of the name to the little darkies aforesaid, we must be permitted to believe that he was a good deal more worthy the compliment than his namesake at Washington. No two men ever lived as little like each other in character and conduct as these two Abrahams. Let us see.

The Abraham at Washington is confessed by his own countrymen to be a vulgar buffoon and joker, destitute of the dignity, the courtesy and every other quality of a gentleman. The patriarch Abraham was a model of all these qualities. His reception of the strangers who visited his tent has been justly characterized as a "specimen of a genuine gentleman; courtesy of external deportment; courtesy of polite language; courtesy of substantial hospitality; and all this the offspring of a truly benevolent heart."

The Abraham at Washington is as careful of his own life as he is extravagant with the lives of other men. He has caused a loss of half a million of lives to his own countrymen, but has never smelt gunpowder himself. He stole into Washington on a freight car; and while the land has been reeling ever since beneath the shock of war, he has remained snugly ensconced in the Capital. The patriarch Abraham did not get other men to do his fighting for him. When he heard that war was made upon his brother, and that he was taken prisoner and his goods captured, the patriarch armed his own servants, and himself went after the enemy, fought them gallantly like the fine old hero that he was, routed them completely, and rescued his brother and his goods. When did Abraham at Washington ever imitate his namesake in that?

The Washington Abraham is an Abolitionist. He considers slavery a great sin, and slaveholders children of the devil. The patriarch Abraham, on the contrary, was himself a slaveholder. The Scriptures inform us that he had slaves, bought with his own money and born in his own house. Others he received as presents from the King of Egypt. His whole encampment was made up of slaves. We may judge of the number when he could arm "three hundred and eighteen trained servants, born in his house," for the purposes of war. We doubt whether there is now a slaveholder in the South whose slave possessions are large enough to furnish him with three hundred and eighteen servants, born in his own house, for military purposes.

Abolitionists regard house-born slaves as "the most revolting particular in the whole system." Such is the language of an English writer in commenting on this very passage. He says: "We can understand that a man might perfect his personal liberty by crime or misfortune—but that his children and his children's children," etc., etc. Yet Abraham owned this as well as every other kind of slave property; and in the very next chapter of the Bible that records the fact, God prescribes regulations, in what He himself describes as an "everlasting covenant," for their religious training; blesses the patriarch, and bestows upon him the name of Abraham, "for a father of many nations have I made thee"; blesses Sarah, his wife, and says she shall be the mother of kings; and, upon Abraham's intercession, blesses even Ishmael!

Such was the favor with which the Almighty regarded this great slaveholder, the only man in the whole Scripture who is honored with this sublime title: "The Friend of God."

We have only room to point to one more, and that a very striking point of difference between the two Abrahams. When the Southern Lot proposed to separate peacefully from the Northern Abraham, the answer was fire and sword; enormous armies let loose upon our territory; our soil deluged with the blood of our people, and the midnight sky reddened with the flame of our burning dwellings. What was the conduct of the patriarch Abraham in a like case? "And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks, and herds, and tents. And the land was not able to bear them, that they might live together; for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together. And there was a strife between the herdmen of Abram's cattle and the herdmen of Lot's cattle; and the Canaanite and the Perizzite dwelled there in the land. And Abram said unto Lot, Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me; if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left."

It is clear that the two Abrahams are very different men. The father of the Washington Abraham should have named him—Pharaoh.

### *SUMNER DEFAMING VIRGINIA.*

From the Macon Confederate.

CHARLES SUMNER, it seems, is still smarting under the sting of Brooks's cane. He is endeavoring to convince his brother round-heads that Virginia was settled by dissolute persons—malcontents, fraudulent debtors; convicts and criminals, instead of the cavalier which has ever been her ancestral pride and boast. Sumner perverts the truth of history to subserve his base purposes, without a conscientious scruple. He utters falsehood as deliberately as honest men utter the truth. He defames the glorious old Commonwealth as unblushingly as a practised chicken-thief would deny his petty thefts. It is humiliating to see high capacity and eminent attainments prostituted to the basest of purposes. Virginia and the other Confederate States have no excuse to dread a correct contrast of their colonial or subsequent history with that of New England. The Virginians are, indeed,

> "The knightliest of the kingly race,
> Who, since the days of old,
> Have kept the lamp of chivalry
> Alight, in hearts of gold."

### *NEGROES AS NEGRO BUYERS.*

From the Richmond Examiner, Dec. 2.

THIS is another innovation that the times have brought upon us; another symptom of the breaking down of the barriers that, until this war, kept the negro in his proper sphere. Now, ladies and gentlemen at auctions are forced to bid in competition with swarthy negroes, who monopolize the most eligible positions and claim the nod of the auctioneer. Not an auction is held but the negro element is largely developed, and some dusky "Mrs. Toodles" is always around enjoying the first pick and putting her label on the goods of her choice. Auctioneers would consult their interests and the convenience and comfort of the citizens that attend upon their sales, if they would adopt a stringent rule excluding negroes from their auctions. It is rarely that they attend to buy; it is only the innate curiosity of the negro that prompts him to attend and bid, and put himself or herself in the way of white citizens who really desire to make *bona fide* bids and purchases. Again, this promiscuous selling slaves without the written permission of their owners, is a violation of a city ordinance, and every auctioneer so violating the law is liable to the penalty provided. We hope the police will see that the law in this regard is enforced.

### *A LEAF FROM HISTORY.*

[As an instance of how plainly and openly the pro-slavery Presidents formerly used their influence to favor the slaveholders, and how decided were the measures by which they thus sought to give a tendency to the national life in accordance with their prejudices or convictions, we quote below a letter written in 1853, by Mr. Caleb Cushing, then Attorney-General in the Cabinet of President Pierce, to a citizen of Boston.]

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29, 1853.

DEAR SIR: * * * If there be any purpose more fixed than another in the mind of the President and those with whom he is accustomed to consult, it is that the dangerous element of abolitionism, under whatever guise or form it may present itself, shall be crushed out, so far as his Administration is concerned. This the President declared in his inaugural address—this he has declared ever since, at all times and in all places where he had occasion to speak on the subject. While he does not presume to judge of the hearts of men who publicly avow sound principles, he only needs overt acts to show where they are, in order that his settled policy in conducting the affairs of the government shall be unequivocally manifest. Those who have apprehended halting or hesitation on the part of the President, in treading any path which truth and patriotism open to him, may depend upon it, no matter what consequences may impend over him, he will never allow it to be shaken by abolitionism, but will set his face like flint as well against right-handed backsliding as against left-handed defections which may embarrass the onward progress of the republic.

I remain, very truly yours,
C. CUSHING, Attorney-General.

Hon. R. FROTHINGHAM, Boston, Mass.

## Selections.

### *EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS.*

BY WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

THE liberation of those who are held in bondage as chattels personal is one thing; the possession of the elective franchise is quite another. In enumerating the grievances under which the slaves of the South have been crushed so long, no Abolitionist has ever alluded to their exclusion from the ballot-box as in that category. In the thirty years' discussion of the slavery question, we do not recollect to have seen or heard a single declaration as to the necessity or duty of granting the elective franchise in immediate connection with the bestowal of personal freedom. Nor was that subject even once touched upon, that we are aware of, during the protracted struggle in England for the abolition of the West India slave system. Nor do we believe it entered into the mind of any one, that, whether the slaves under British control or at the South should be peacefully or violently delivered from their galling yokes, they would forthwith be invested with all political rights and privileges. Of course, there was no difference of opinion as to the fact, that, inasmuch as slavery was the extinction of every natural right, so its abolition would open the way for ultimate social, civil and political equality; but this through industrial and educational development, and not by any arbitrary mandate. Nor has there been, nor is there now, among the Abolitionists in this country, any conflict or division as to the wrongfulness of complexional proscription, whether at the ballot-box or elsewhere. If no white man loses his vote on account of his ignorance, then, they maintain, no black man should be deprived of his vote, for the same reason. Whatever is made requisite to constitute a voter in the one case, should also be in the other. But, because the white man is allowed to vote, and the black man is not, is it for any Abolitionist to treat the overthrow of slavery as in itself a small matter? And are we not to indulge in singing and shouting aloud, in chorus with the redeemed, in view of that stupendous change, without subjecting ourselves to the imputation of lowering the standard of equal and exact justice?

The rebellion having culminated in the treasonable secession and hostile confederation of eleven States, presents an anomalous and undreamed state of things as to what is to be done, when that rebellion is put down, in the matter of reconstruction. There is no precedent to fall back upon, and the case must be put upon its own merits. Yet it is not without great difficulties as a practical measure, however easy it may be to form a theory. Conflicting opinions are already assuming a partisan shape. How many loyal inhabitants in a rebellious State shall be allowed to organize a new State, and of these who shall exercise the elective franchise? Or should no State organization be recognized, either by the Executive or by Congress, until the rebellion is crushed in all its territorial domains, and the people of the State, as such, in the ordinary political sense, determine by their votes what shall be the form of the new government, and who shall hold the offices under it?

This subject is now before Congress, in the application of the loyal fractional portion of Louisiana to be recognized as *the* State, and represented in both Houses at Washington; and must, of course, soon be authoritatively decided upon.

Our conviction has been from the start—and we have been explicit in the *Liberator* in stating it—that each seceding State, as soon as it raised the flag of rebellion, and declared war against the General government, forfeited its organic existence and relationship to the Union, and reduced itself to a territorial condition; that its reconstruction as a loyal State, claiming all the prerogatives and exercising all the powers of a *bona fide* State, should neither be recognized by Congress nor attempted at home until, by its own force, or by the auxiliary aid of the government, it had conquered the rebellion within its limits; that to make a State out of a very small minority of the inhabitants, and a mere fraction of the territory, while the great body of the people are still in defiant revolt against the government, would present a strange spectacle in relation to the democratic theory, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed"; and, consequently, that while this chaotic state of things exists, the military rule must be dominant, leaving such scope for local civil action as opportunity may present. We strongly objected to the amnesty proclamation of President Lincoln at the time it appeared, and still believe it will be "more honored in the breach than in the observance," if Congress decline to make it exceptional, as in the case of Louisiana, or to make it the basis of general action. Nevertheless, we have watched with interest the formation of the new State in that quarter, upon the basis of universal emancipation, and have seen no manifestation other than that of decided hostility to the longer continuance of slavery upon the soil of Louisiana. The experiment, locally, appears to be working well, and the people are evidently satisfied with it.

Our eloquent friend Wendell Phillips, in various speeches and lectures, has been particularly severe upon Gen. Banks for allowing only white voters to decide upon the new State Constitution. But Mr. Phillips believes that women should not be proscribed as to the franchise on account of their sex, any more than the blacks on account of their color; yet he makes no complaint of their exclusion from the polls by Gen. Banks. Perhaps the same motive—the danger of creating a reactionary feeling, and so imperilling the safety of New Orleans itself—may have led Gen. Banks to follow the State usage, in providing only for white voters. Remembering the extraordinary difficulties of his situation, we certainly do not regard his course in this particular as deserving of special anathema; but charitably incline to the belief that he had no proscriptive intent in the matter; especially as Maj. Plumly—an old and earnest Abolitionist—declares that it was owing to the direct urgency of Gen. Banks that, in the new Constitution, the word "white" was stricken out, and provision made for colored voters on certain specified conditions. This is a better Constitution for the colored citizen than that of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, or any Western State—better, we hesitate not to add, than could have been reasonably expected by the most exacting advocate of the colored population. Was it to be presumed that demoralized, slavery-cursed, rebellion-tainted Louisiana would, in her transition period, surpass in fair-dealing to her liberated slaves, sober, evangelical, educated, loyal Connecticut in her treatment of her colored citizens? Why this set disposition that is evinced in certain quarters to decry Gen. Banks, without giving him a particle of credit for anything he has done?—no, though he has liberated every slave whom the Emancipation proclamation left unredeemed, and planted the New England school system for the special benefit of the freed people! "If," said Mr. Phillips, in his Cooper Institute lecture, "the school-house remains planted when the cannon comes home, we have a nation." Then all possible credit to Gen. Banks for his educational arrangements for the benighted negroes of Louisiana! The value of these cannot be easily exaggerated. But, it is said, "such a reconstruction as puts the word white into the Constitution, and bases government on the white race, is neither safe for the negro nor for us, and of consequence is not safe for the nation." That, assuredly, is a sound political axiom; but it is no more true of Louisiana than of any other State. Yet of all these States, loyal and rebel, only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island make no complexional discrimination at the polls! Is the South to be held to a higher standard than the North? Intellectually and morally, where are the conditions to warrant this? With what face can those States which place their own colored citizens under political ban demand of Louisiana, or of any other reconstructed rebel State, that she shall at once give the elective franchise to her freed population? "Thou that sayest, A man should not steal, dost thou steal?" "Physician, heal thyself."

Hitherto, in our national history, each State has reserved to itself the right to determine who of all its inhabitants shall be empowered to vote. The Constitution of the United States is wholly silent on the subject. It enumerates the various powers of Congress, but the right to prescribe the ballot in any State is not one of these. Hence the disfranchisement of color in most of the States; and Congress may not attempt to interfere with it. The primary difficulty lies in the state of public sentiment towards the negro. It is to the honor of all the New England States, except Connecticut, that they make no distinction between white and black at the polls; but all the other States in or out of the Union do. How self-condemnatory it would be, therefore, for the Senators and Representatives of these proscriptive States to insist that Louisiana, before her admission into the Union, shall know nothing of such proscription! Her retort might be severe and scathing. True, their injustice would not constitute a defence for her own; but it would properly close their lips on the subject.—*Liberator.*

### *NEWS FROM THE SOUTH BY WAY OF CANADA.*

Montreal Correspondence of the Tribune.

THE rebels here are looking extremely glum. The defeat of Hood and the successes of Sherman fell upon them like thunderbolts. Sanders looks fully ten years older than he did on the day the raiders were released; even the plunder he so cunningly secured, though it now and then brings a smile to his lips, does not give him a happy countenance, while Clay, I am assured, is the very picture of despair. Indeed, all the rebels you meet look as if they had buried their last friend. In their presence I, too, show as much extravagance of grief over their calamities as a hired mourner at a funeral.

But the rebels in Canada, in common with their friends at home, have more cause for discouragement than has yet been disclosed by the press. Scarcely a day passes that messengers to the rebel agents here, and refugees do not arrive, and the intelligence they have brought within the last week is, to all interested in the rebellion, of the most disheartening character.

My peculiar situation with regard to the Confederates in the Province, enables me, with a little strategy, to procure through them much information that they would fain withhold from the public ear.

Among the recent arrivals from the South I may mention, Thomas B. Murray of Milledgeville, Ga., and Samuel W. Nash of Richmond, who reached here on Saturday evening, Dec. 17th. The former left Milledgeville November 24th, Augusta three days later, and the rebel Capital December 6th, in company with Nash, who is a special bearer of dispatches from the rebel government for Europe. Murray is the proprietor of a large plantation near Milledgeville, and is about fifty years of age. He is a man after Jeff. Davis's own heart, and heaps upon Gov. Brown, and the Georgians in general, maledictions that would do credit to a pirate. He represents the people of his State as greatly disaffected with the Davis government, and ready to accept the most humiliating terms of peace. And the sin of all this he charges upon "that d—d baby-faced cripple (Stephens) and his cabbage-head satellite" (Brown). He estimates that nearly half the Georgians in the army are traitors, but thanks God that they are surrounded by patriotic officers and soldiers who will compel them to do their duty.

When he left home a large portion of Sherman's forces were at Milledgeville. The scouting and foraging parties that preceded the main army he admits treated the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, with kindness and civility, but their gentlemanly and humane conduct he is certain was merely a cute Yankee trick to make friends and converts. He says that from the time Sherman commenced his march the rebel commanders were bewildered by his manœuvers; that so well did he conceal his aims that few ventured to express an opinion as to his intended destination. Bragg, however, was confident that he aimed at Augusta, and extensive preparations were made to defend that city as long as possible. Every able-bodied man, white and black, was set to work upon the fortifications, and hundreds of negro women employed in drawing fascines and brushwood. A perfect panic prevailed in the city, and all the troops and militia that could be found were sent in from all directions. Dreading and fearing the fate of Atlanta, the most valuable government machinery and property was removed to Branchville and Kingsville, S. C. But now that Augusta is no longer in immediate danger, Murray says that the machinery will no doubt be returned, as the Augusta Canal affords a water-power equalled nowhere else in the Confederacy. During the past year and a half Augusta has produced more munitions and enginery of war than any three towns in Jeff. Davis's dominions combined.

A large number of farmers and planters on the line of Sherman's march evinced no disposition to drive their stock out of his reach. As soon as Bragg discovered this he dispatched parties in various directions to collect and drive into Augusta all the horses and cattle belonging to persons who were not themselves preparing to remove them. This property Bragg declared he would retain for the use of the government, without compensation to the owners, as a punishment for their bad faith in not running it out of Sherman's way.

The number of negroes that joined Sherman's army was immense. Murray himself lost over forty, and he fears more. It is believed in the South that as soon as they reach the coast they will be sent North, and such as are fit for military duty placed in the army.

No better evidence can be adduced of the earnest desire of the Georgians to return to their allegiance than two petitions, one signed by 12,000 citizens of the State, to be offered in the rebel Senate, and the other signed by about 15,000 women, to be presented to Jeff. Davis. Murray denounces them as the most infamous documents ever concocted, and prays that every man and woman who signed them may be hanged. Senator Ben. Hill was requested to offer the one in the Senate, but declined on the pretence that it was of a treasonable character. Yet the petition merely set forth the hopelessness of the rebellion for independence, the direful consequences which must ensue from its prolongation, and prayed that immediate efforts be made by Congress and the Executive to secure an honorable peace.

Three days after the petition was submitted to Senator Hill, two gentlemen—Mr. Crane, an old and prominent lawyer of Macon, and Mr. Whitelaw, a wealthy planter residing near that city—who had taken an active part in concocting it, and had borne it to Richmond, were arrested and thrown into Castle Thunder. So much for the right of petition in the Confederacy.

But the ladies who a fortnight later presented the petition of the women of Georgia to Mr. Davis did not fare so harshly. Yet their memorial and prayer were quite as pointed and treasonable as the document for which Messrs. Crane and Whitelaw were incarcerated.

Mr. Murray has a verbatim copy of the women's petition, which I was permitted, on Wednesday evening, with several other "indignant" Southerners, to peruse. It begins: "The undersigned, mothers, sisters, wives and widows of officers and soldiers of the Commonwealth of Georgia, who are living or have died in the military service of their country, respectfully submit to your Excellency and pray."

It then recounts the manifold sacrifices they have, without murmuring, made; the privations they have patiently endured, and the encouragement they have heroically given their loved ones in the field, etc.

Next it depicts the horrors of the war, and attempts to show—and to any reasonable person does show, conclusively—that all efforts on the part of the Confederacy to achieve its independence must in the end prove futile.

It then fervently appeals to his "excellency" in the name of reason, humanity and Christianity, to terminate the murderous contest, and assures him that if that result can only be attained by sacrificing his personal pride and ambition, he may, by making the sacrifice while he has yet powerful armies at his command, obtain a place in history as the greatest patriot of modern times.

Mr. Davis gave the ladies a very gracious reception. He appeared to weigh every word of their memorial, and when its perusal was ended he seemed greatly affected. He assured them that he had always been ready to effect any peace consistent with the honor and interest of the South; that he was not now and never had been actuated by a desire for power or personal aggrandizement, and that the moment he could perceive that the peace and welfare of his country would be promoted by his retirement from office he would follow the example of the greatest patriot and ruler, Napoleon I., and leave the craven people who demand the sacrifice at his hands to repent their ingratitude and folly.

He further assured them that it was to the noble devotion and self-sacrificing spirit of the ladies, and the generous encouragement that they had hitherto given their loved ones in the tented field, that their numerous victories were mainly due; and that he could not lose their encouragement, influence and confidence without feeling that he had lost half his army, that all their victories had been in vain, and that there remained nothing worth contending for. In conclusion he begged them to return to their homes and direct their influence and example for the encouragement of those dear to them in the army as in time past, for one year longer, assuring them that if by that time peace did not smile upon the country, or its independence were not recognized by foreign powers, he would no longer be President.

Such, according to Mr. Murray, was the report made by the ladies who presented the petition, of their interview with the rebel chief. This report was also confirmed by Mr. Davis in an interview which Murray had with him the day before he left Richmond.

"But," inquired one of our Southern friends who had been listening to Murray's recital, "what could the President have meant by saying that if within another year peace were not declared or the Confederacy recognized by foreign powers, he would no longer be President?" "He meant," answered Murray, "precisely what he said, that he should no longer be President. But he did not promise to yield to petticoat government or the Yankee government; he simply meant, my friends, that he would be king. And, gentlemen," continued Murray, "a monarchy is what we want; a republic may answer for Yankees, but it will never serve our people. And what is more, we have only to change our form of government to secure its immediate recognition by the leading powers of Europe. They would speedily recognize us if only to deal a death-blow to republican institutions." The company, composed chiefly of Southern gentlemen, concurred in Murray's views. And I can truthfully aver upon my own observation and experience in the Confederacy that they represent the sentiments of nearly all the leading men in the South.

But let me now turn to Nash, the messenger who left Richmond in company with Murray. He was formerly a captain in the rebel army, but at the battle of Lookout Mountain, upward of a year ago, he lost his right arm, while his company, with the exception of seven men, was annihilated.

I do not pretend to know the character of the dispatches confided to Nash, and I presume he is quite as ignorant on the subject as myself, but accompanying letters to the rebel agent here (who, by the by, is neither Mr. Geo. N. Sanders nor Mr. Porterfield, as has been published in some of the New York papers), I am informed on the best authority, represent that said dispatches convey to the rebel Commissioners in Paris instructions to propose to Great Britain and France the abolisment of slavery, in accordance with a certain plan in consideration of the recognition of the Confederacy by those powers.

The rebel leaders understand that slavery is on the verge of death, and they are determined to make as much as possible out of it so long as there is a spark of vitality.

If a promise and arrangement to abolish the institution will influence foreign powers to recognize their government, they will make such promises and arrangement to that end. In any case they will convert their human chattels into soldiers, and turn them to the best possible advantage. The result of the experiment no one can fortell; but as the rebellion is so near *a l'extremite*, there is no reason why, as a *dernier resort*, they should not venture to make it. It will be better, therefore, for our authorities to assume that the slaves will prove valuable auxiliaries, and prepare without loss of time to subdue them. It will be best to follow up our glorious successes of the past few weeks, and put the armies of the enemy *hors de combat*—which, demoralized as they now are by defeats and disappointments, would be comparatively easy—before any new accessions can be made to them.

Nash further says that it is settled beyond all question that the rebels will arm their slaves, and that it is their intention when they do so to hoist the black flag. This course has been recommended by some of their best and most humane Generals, including Lee. It is believed that it would terminate the war much sooner and cost less bloodshed and suffering in the end than by observing the principles of warfare which have hitherto obtained; and that foreign nations would soon interfere, out of motives of humanity, and put an end to the struggle.

The truth, however, no doubt is, that they apprehend that their negro soldiers would seek opportunities to get taken prisoners and refuse to be exchanged, and believe that by the measure proposed they will get more fight out of them than they otherwise could. But let them beware that they do not, like Actæon, get devoured by their own dogs.

### *THE NEW STATE GOVERNMENT OF LOUISIANA.*

MAJ.-GEN. BANKS has submitted to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary some suggestions relative to the recent elections in Louisiana. He says he did not assume, in his proclamation of Jan. 11, 1864, inviting the people of Louisiana to participate in an election, to say whether slavery was or was not an institution recognized by law, as the condition of the State was such that no laws for the enforcement of the rights of the master could be executed without disturbance of the peace, and they could not be enforced by the army or navy, such intervention being forbidden by Congress. This declaration was generally acceptable to the people. There were three candidates. The canvass was spirited, and 11,400 votes were cast out of from 15,000 to 16,000 formerly polled as an average in the parishes voting, the highest vote ever given being 21,000. He expresses the belief that only 500 persons voted in that election who were not citizens of the State previous to the rebellion, and every candidate had been from fifteen to twenty years identified with the interests of the State. He declares unhesitatingly that two-thirds, if not three-quarters, of the voting population of the State participated in the election. There were in the State from 15,000 to 18,000 persons registered as qualified by the Constitution and laws of Louisiana as voters. He holds that any criticism on this election suggesting a departure from the statute provisions rests on the impossibility of exact compliance therewith. Of the diminished vote on the ratification of the new Constitution, he says there was no material opposition to it, public or private, and that some failed to participate from apprehension that Congress would not ratify the form of government. The majority, he asserts, had a contest been made by the opponents of Emancipation, would have been 15,000; and he declares that the influence of the officers of the government, civil and military, was indifferent, if not hostile, to the organization. The Registrar of Votes has stated that in one department of the Treasury Office only 25 out of 200 persons voted for or against the abolition of slavery. He disclaims in unqualified terms the imputation of attempts to influence the election by the military authorities. The actual vote polled is claimed to have been more than one-third of the average vote of the entire State for ten years previous to the rebellion. It is claimed that the population of the State has been reduced by enlistments in the rebel army, by removal to the North and to Europe, and by the appalling mortality of the blacks, from 708,000 to 450,000. Of 40,000 men enlisted in the 1,500 are now living. Probably three-fourths of the population of the State are in the lines of our army. He asserts that he has never been governed in the administration of affairs in Louisiana by the fact that a person had taken the oath of allegiance, never accorded any privilege on that ground, that public opinion has a mere substantial and permanent basis.

Gen. Banks refers to the significant Mexican movements of Napoleon, and claims that he would upon a convenient pretext plant the French flag upon the west banks of the Mississippi; and hence the great importance of supporting the United States government in Louisiana by every possible means, not only by force of arms, but by the sympathy of the people; and all sections and interests of the country, political and commercial, have an equal interest in maintaining the power of the government in this controlling and important part of the country.

### *THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.*

SPEECH OF MR. YEAMAN OF KENTUCKY.

AFTER much hesitation and earnest reflection I have concluded to vote for the resolution submitting to the people of the States the proposed Amendment to the Constitution, which, if successful, will forever settle the vexed and distressing question of slavery. In doing this I beg to assure gentlemen that I have come to this conclusion viewing the subject from a national, and even from a Kentucky standpoint, and have derived little or no assistance from those views common to the members of what is termed the radical party of the North. Without any extended argument the vote could be justified on any one of these grounds:

First, the passage of this joint resolution does not determine the matter, but only refers it to the people, the source of all power.

Second, that a man with an earnest respect for the people, and a profound regard for our system of government, might very consistently vote for its submission, and then in his State vote against its ratification.

Third, seeing the people have determined to do it, it becomes the part of wisdom to let it be done as quickly as convenient, and with no unnecessary opposition. Let the agony be over and the rubbish cleared away.

If I wanted to justify it as an anti-slavery measure it would not be hard to find great authority in my own section. No two names are more worshipped throughout the South than Washington and Jefferson. Washington was a practical emancipationist, and it would not be doing any great injustice to Jefferson to call him an Abolitionist. No name is more ardently loved in Kentucky than that of Henry Clay; and Mr. Clay never omitted a good opportunity to express his convictions of the great evils of slavery.

In 1822 the members of the Kentucky Legislature nominated Mr. Clay to the people of the United States for the Presidency. A committee appointed to correspond with the members of the Ohio Legislature, in urging the fitness of Mr. Clay's nomination said: "We apprehend that no mistake could be greater than that which would impute to him the wish to extend the acknowledged evils of slavery; for we are persuaded that no one entertains a stronger sense of its mischiefs than he does, or a more ardent desire, by all prudent and constitutional means, to extirpate it from our land," and proceeded to state that for more than twenty years he had been in favor of the gradual abolition of slavery. This letter is signed by William T. Barry, R. C. Anderson, J. Cabell Breckinridge, J. J. Crittenden, G. Robertson, John Rowen and B. W. Patton, and is found on pages 148–49, of Judge Robertson's excellent "Scrap Book of Law and Politics, Men and Times."

And shall a man be told that it is wrong or disgraceful to hold opinions that have been sanctioned by the minds and hearts of such men?

But I put my action upon none of these grounds. I go boldly to the practical question, and put it and justify it upon the ground that it is wise and is required by the facts and circumstances by which the people of Kentucky and of the nation are surrounded, and which have been called into being and power by the war, and which they must deal with and cannot avoid. It is thrust upon us by facts and agencies not of our procuring, and for which we are in no way responsible. Kentucky is being depopulated by the ills of this strife. Her sons and daughters are leaving her soil and their paternal roofs to find safety and peace elsewhere. The exodus is frightful, and if her people borrow trouble by fighting fate and making a stand for slavery after it is overthrown, our State will be hopelessly ruined. In the last six months I have often heard men of both parties in Kentucky wish that the President would issue his supplemental proclamation covering the whole ground, Kentucky included, rather than longer be held in doubt, uncertainty and confusion. I have never wished him to do it because I have never wished him to do an illegal thing. Those who have thought this would be a good thing now have a legal mode presented for their approval.

The perpetuity of slavery is not the issue. That issue was made up four years ago, and the case has been decided against the institution, one half the jury being its own friends. Were we to do nothing and say nothing, Mr. Davis and Gen. Lee, Mr. Stephens and Mr. Seddon, Gov. Smith, Porcher Miles and the Richmond press, would soon overturn slavery on their present line of thought and conduct. Indeed, it is notorious they have resolved to put the negro in the fight, and we in Kentucky all know what that means for slavery. When these men turn practical Abolitionists by offering the negro his freedom for his services as a soldier, it is high time for conservative men here to cease halting and doubting on the subject. Shall we debate whether slavery can be preserved, and make a stand and submit to an overthrow for its sake, when the people of the loyal States have pronounced against it, and when the leading spirits of the rebellion have fully made up their minds to abandon it, and even to strangle it in the house of its friends in their frantic efforts to save the one point of secession? Is slavery in Kentucky worth the misery, the blood and the desolation of such a contest as must ensue upon any serious attempt to preserve it? Our children would say "it was worse than a crime, it was a blunder." Those in authority and influence with the rebellion have fully made up their minds that they would purchase European alliance, and even accept colonial vassalage under European protection at the price of an edict of universal emancipation. It is notorious and undisguised that they would be glad to improve their diplomatic and military relations with foreign powers by this movement. We will checkmate them at this game. We will save them the degradation of "colonial vassalage," by beating them at war, by beating them at foreign diplomacy, and by beating them at emancipation, and treating them justly and kindly the moment they return to their allegiance to the supreme law of the land. And since it is settled that slavery must die, and that this amendment will pass in a few months, if not now, why keep the country in a turmoil, or have any fierce contest over it, contending about that which is practically settled? If it must and will be done, let it be done now and have done with all suspension, uncertainty and excitement about it.

To gentlemen here who think of voting against this amendment let me suggest that since slavery must shortly cease to be a question of national politics, may you not make your party more powerful for good in the great work of defining and restraining power, which, if you will excuse me, has been the principal vocation of your party, by cutting loose from a dead carcass, and declining to make a party fight for an institution which is already condemned? By clogging yourselves with such an issue you may make yourselves powerless on the great questions of personal liberty, national finances, freedom of the press, and a just measure of State rights in which you would then have the cordial coöperation of many Northern Democrats and Southern Whigs who will go for this amendment. It is said you ought to vote against it but not speak against it. Is not that an untenable position?

It must not be ill-naturedly said of me that I make no sacrifice of slave property in this matter. I never had much of any kind; and if I had to-day all the money that negroes have cost me in different ways I would be much obliged to them. I owned two. One I found it good to send off for the safety of my children, and the other thought it a good thing to run off just in time to save me the expense of supporting her the balance of her life. And I had two hired. One was stolen away by a Northern substitute agent, who wisely preferred a direct personal interview with Joe to a formal correspondence with Gen. Sherman on the subject, and the other went to the army (I hope he is a better soldier than he was a farmer), leaving me minus some things which I had innocently supposed were mine, and not his, leaving my place in the weeds and my hire note outstanding and unpaid. And now that they have all gone I feel so much better that I deem it but polite and neighborly to invite the whole world to try the experiment.

Emancipation is now the true economy in Kentucky. Right or wrong the government has taken her able-bodied slaves for the service, and will continue to take them, leaving the women and children on our hands for support. Being deprived of the benefits of the system, must we cling to its burdens? If there is a part of that population yet desirable as laborers, consider whether emancipation is not now the only means left of securing their services, and whether this being refused or deferred they will not all leave, with the hope of procuring freedom elsewhere, and whether upon the whole a reasonable hire is not better for both parties, the negro feeding and clothing himself, paying his own doctor's bills, with all the stimulus to industry and economy springing from the compensated labor system.

Labor is like any other thing of value: it is worth what it costs, and will cost what it is worth, and will find its commercial level. It is therefore impossible, in the nature of things, that slave labor can be cheaper than free. An able-bodied man in fair times would readily command $1,200. The interest on that at ten per cent. is $120. His food, clothes and medical attention would not be worth less than $120 more—in all $240. How much more would free labor cost? With the disadvantage on the part of the master that the slave may die or run off, and will surely wear out, while his cash value might have been made a permanent investment in something else.

Our lands will increase in value, our roads will multiply; and we will have a great commercial emporium in our own State. I will not stop to argue these advantages, but only point to other States, and younger States, to verify the belief. I repudiate the absurd doctrine that slave labor is the foundation of a higher type of civilization. Commerce, roads, manufactures, agriculture, science, arms, the census, do not say it.

### *WILL THE REBELS ARM THE SLAVES?*

*Savannah, Dec.* 31.—Old citizens here answer you with a grim smile when you ask them whether Jeff. Davis will ever arm the slaves. "Why," say they, "we have lived in a perfect dread of them as it is, and what would we do if they were armed?"

The plain truth is, there are not three sensible men in Georgia but know that the day the South arms her slaves the rebellion is at an end. And this is not all; it will be the bloodiest termination that ever rebellion had in any country. Let him who doubts this talk a little while with the negroes who have come from the best regulated plantations. No matter how ignorant they are in all other things, they are posted on the "the main question." They have it firmly fixed in their heads that the North is on their side, and all the eloquence of Rabeldom will never be able to dislodge that idea.

In the entire march through this State, wherever our army has touched, the negroes were always found to be posted. And right in the heart of Georgia there is a wide-spread organization among the slaves, which only lacks efficiency because it wants arms. Were it proper to do so, I could give the names of towns in which companies are formed and drilling at every opportunity. All they ask is arms.

Citizens here tell me that after our army had arrived before Savannah, even while Hardee was here, the people went to bed every night in dread lest the negroes should rise.

This is one of the reasons why our army has met with such a cordial reception. The people now feel safe, not only because they think Sherman is sufficiently powerful to protect them, but also because they know the negroes are now satisfied, being with those whom they regard as their friends and deliverers.

The North need not entertain a particle of uneasiness on this score. If the crumbling Confederacy should finally, in the madness and desperation of her leaders, adopt the measure of arming the slaves, as the dying serpent strikes her poisonous fangs into her own flesh, it will but hasten the longed-for result.—*Cor. Philadelphia Inquirer.*

### *EMANCIPATION IN DELAWARE.*

GOV. CANNON, in his annual Message to the Legislature of Delaware, again takes strong ground in favor of emancipation in that State, as he did in his inaugural address. He repeats that Delaware is connected with the free States by geographical position and commercial necessity; that the products of Delaware find their markets in the North, and that from thence come the immigrants who give increased value to real estate; that the result of constant intercourse with the North is gradually to assimilate the institutions of Delaware to those of the free States, as it has already identified their interests; that slavery in Delaware, being merely nominal, is worthless as an element of labor; that emancipation in Maryland has surrounded Delaware with free soil, inviting the escape of slaves on all sides, as there is now no law requiring their rendition.

In view of these facts, it might be presumed that the Legislature would see the necessity of taking some steps to retrieve the fortunes of the Commonwealth by emancipating the slaves, and thereby inviting free emigration. But constituted as that Legislature is, of a majority of "Democrats," we are inclined to fear that they will cling desperately to the forlorn and hopeless institution while a shred of it remains in the State. Weak as slavery in Delaware has been for ten years past, yet free principles have made much less progress there than in Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas and Louisiana. It is held on to as an element of Democratic strength, and for no other reason that we can perdeive.—*Phila. North American.*

### *KENTUCKY.*

OF all the border slaveholdiug States, Kentucky has been the slowest to move onward on the road of universal freedom. That she too moves at length, we may, therefore, justly regard as a sign that the tide of anti-slavery public opinion is becoming more and more irresistible.

The treacherous attitude of Gov. Magoffin, and the unfriendly neutrality of the Kentucky Legislature at the outbreak of the rebellion

and that we invite the coöperation of the Legislature in carrying forward this request.

5 Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, the slave code of the State should be revised, repealed or modified, so as to be in accordance with the state of affairs in Kentucky, as far as the State Constitution may permit.

6. Resolved, That we approve cordially of the most vigorous retaliatory warfare against all guerillas, raiders, and predatory bands of assassins and robbers, who commit murderous ravages upon the people of this Commonwealth; and we fully indorse the action of the Federal military authorities in the discharge of their duties.

7. Resolved, That the steadfast loyalty of the mountain counties of Kentucky, and their unmurmuring sacrifices of life and property in the cause of the Union, entitle their citizens to a more efficient protection than they have yet received from the State or Federal government.

8. Resolved, That the recent brilliant achievements of the army and navy entitle our brave soldiers and seamen to renewed favor and honor; especially do we feel profoundly grateful for the happy deliverance which they have just given Kentucky, in freeing her from the horrors of a ruthless Confederate invasion.

9. Resolved, That this Convention considers the appearance of Joshua Bullit in his seat, as Chief-Justice of Kentucky, under the notorious circumstances existing with regard to him, an outrage on all propriety, demanding the notice of the public authorities, both Federal and State.

That the Louisville *Journal* is not alone in abandoning the sinking ship of slavery, appears from the Message of Gov. Bramlette. The Governor denies that, in attempting to regulate the enlistment of slaves, his object was to save the institution, and he recommends gradual emancipation and ultimate removal of the slaves. He still lags far behind the position taken with regard to the slavery question in the Messages of the Governors of Missouri, Maryland and Delaware; nevertheless, his words are significant, as the first official declaration of a Kentucky Governor in favor of Emancipation.

Resolutions favoring the abolition of slavery have been introduced into both Houses of the Kentucky Legislature. It can hardly be expected that they will pass, and the present Legislature declare in favor of the Constitutional Amendment. But we incline to hope that—as the Louisville *Journal* predicts—another electoral campaign will give us, even in Kentucky, before the close of the year 1865, a complete victory over the shattered remnants of the proslavery party.—*Tribune.*


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1865.


### *ANNUAL MEETING* OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the MELODEON, in Boston, on Thursday, January 26th, 1865, day and evening, commencing at 10 o'clock, a.m. The members and friends of the Society, one and all, are requested to attend.

At the morning session, with the least possible delay of organization, addresses are expected from Hon. George Thompson, Wendell Phillips, Esq., and others.

As heretofore, the National Anti-Slavery Subscription Festival at the Music Hall on the previous evening (Jan. 25th), will constitute an additional attraction to all friends of the Cause.

By order of the Board of Managers.
EDMUND QUINCY, President.
Robert F. Wallcut, Sec'y.

We remind our readers, one and all, that the Annual Subscription Festival, in aid of the American Anti-Slavery Society, is to be held in the Music Hall, Boston, on Wednesday evening next. Let no one fail to send a small donation because unable to send a larger one. The anti-slavery treasury has always received its main supplies from those whose store of earthly wealth is small. "Many a little makes a mickle," and there is now pressing need of all that the friends of the good cause are able to give. Donations may be directed to L. Maria Child, care of W. L. Garrison, Boston.

### *HOPE DEFERRED.*

We are disappointed in the hope we expressed last week that this Standard would announce the passage of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution by the House of Representatives, which would be equivalent to its success as far as Congress is concerned. The *logomania* which is the vice of American public men, the *cacoëthes parlandi*, the itch for talking which is the endemic disease of the Capitol, has prevailed to such an extent as to delay, if not to defeat the measure for the present. As the postponement was proposed by one of the most active friends of the measure, we hope that what he has done is merely, as the French say, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, to fall back that he may take a longer spring forward. Perhaps it is better to let the irritation arising from the acrimony of debate subside, and time be given for such arguments as best affect different natures to act upon them. It was probably ascertained that the requisite two-thirds could not be obtained at this time, before the postponement was suggested. In such case, a further day of grace was well granted. The vote will not be worse then than now, and it may be better. It is natural that great impatience and some vexation should be felt at this delay. But it is not as if the delay endangered the success of the measure. It delays it only to make it the more signal and the more triumphant. It is a misfortune to the men who shall vote against it, for the brand will never be worn out from their foreheads; and also for such members of the present House as are not members of the next, as they will thus lose the glory of voting for this great deliverance. Their children cannot say our Father was of the Congress that delivered Slavery over to the People to be put to death. They may well repine at the misfortune.

But, sad as their case is, thus to be robbed of an enduring glory by the malignity of a perishing faction, the work will be done, and done even more emphatically by the next Congress than it could possibly be done by this. For it will be done by an absolute sufficiency of well-wishers to the measure, and not by any favors from secret ill-wishers to it, however obtained. And, then, the members of the new Congress, who are not members of this, will have the happy occasion which those whom they will replace will miss. So that the balance of satisfactions will be even. At any rate the work will be done, the Constitution will be purged, the nation will be purified, the slaves will be freed, and the career of unbounded prosperity, of surpassing strength, of preeminent beauty, and of expanding glory will be begun, never to cease until the world is redeemed from bad governments, or has come to an end. The wealth which has crowned the efforts of Free Labor in the Free States, even in spite of the drawbacks of the war, will spend itself over the blighted region of the South and redeem it from the curse which has blasted it for so long. Education and civilization will follow in the train of material prosperity, protected by equal and just laws. It will take time for a country so radically diseased and depraved by vicious and wicked conditions to recover a state of normal health and strength. But much bad blood has been depleted from its veins since the war begun, and a body politic can have new blood transfused into its circulation, whether a natural body can or not. This will be done, as soon as peace and safety is restored to that wretched region. While the regeneration of the black race through the restoration of its manhood and the application of every stimulus which the white American has and the black has not, or has but imperfectly, will form the permanent and sure basis of its future greatness and prosperty. All these blessings will be the logical consequence of the radical and universal abolition of slavery by the Amendment of the Constitution. If it do not create a New Heaven, it certainly will a New Earth, and an earth more worthy of heaven than that now beneath its cope.

The States seem to be vying with the Nation in despatching slavery. Less than thirty years ago St. Louis burnt a negro by a slow fire and crossed over to Alton to murder Lovejoy. Now she illuminates in honor of the abolition of slavery in the Border Ruffian State. Baltimore, which lay in wait for Senator Sumner and President Lincoln, and which murdered Massachusetts men going to the protection of the metropolis, is equally jubilant over the downfall of slavery in Maryland. Tennessee seems ready to enter upon the same path, and even Arkansas, the most hopeless of communities, looks as if she, too, were desirous of following her footsteps. The utter disorganization and disintegration of the Slave System is apparent even in the Rebellious States themselves. The absence of a war of bayonets was the essential condition of the war with cartwhips, bowie-knifes and bloodhounds which ever existed in the slave country. The slaveholders now see their bitter error, but it is too late to correct it. They have taken the sword, and by the sword they are perishing, as slaveholders, even if they survive as men. They are evidently drifting from their anchorage, and would, undoubtedly, surrender slavery if they could thereby secure Recognition and Independence. Their pride might not be stronger than their love of slavery, if there were a chance for its recovering any portion of its old *prestige* and power. But that is a lost hope now, even in their own eyes. It is the business of Congress to make this fact so clear in the eyes of all their followers and of all the world that none can be so blind as not to see it. And it is the duty of the country to urge Congress on to the completion of the initiative steps and to the glorious consummation of the work so begun. These duties will be well performed, we are sure. Only we wish that they could be done quickly. The Abolitionists are impatient to see the glory of God manifested in this deliverance, that they may depart in peace and cease their labors. From their labors in this specific field, that is. For their task-work will only be changed, not remitted.

A careful outlook must be long maintained to see that the Emancipation has free course that it may be glorified. Also that the freedmen have fair play, that they may do their part in the reëdification of the walls of our political and social Zion. The inveterate habits of mastership and of contempt, on the part of all classes at the South, cannot be eradicated by an enactment. It will be a work of time and patience. But the foundations must be laid so firmly in righteousness that they cannot be shaken. The black men must have their political rights asserted and maintained, or they cannot long retain their personal rights. Whatever restrictions may be laid on suffrage, they should not be suffered to be based on color, but be impartially applied to whites as well as blacks. Certainly, every man that has borne arms for the Union must be secured the political rights of which the Union is but another name. If any qualifications of property or of intelligence be affixed to the suffrage, it should be made to operate with perfect equality on the two races. These are questions which naturally grow out of such a revolution as we are now enacting, and now is the time to settle them in the right way forever. Freedom, Equal Rights, Education, these are keys which are to open a glorious future to the South, to the country and to the world. Let us insist on their being kept bright and applied to their proper uses. And the first of all is Freedom, which the Amendment to the Constitution is to secure beyond all cavil or controversy. That done, with common prudence, everything else will follow. And it will be done. Hope may be deferred, but it will not be disappointed.

### *DEATH OF EDWARD EVERETT.*

Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, died suddenly at his residence in Summer street, Boston, on Saturday morning, the 15th. At three o'clock in the morning he was sleeping naturally; but about four o'clock his housekeeper heard a heavy fall in his room, and found Mr. Everett lying on the floor, breathing heavily. Before a physician could arrive he was dead. The disease was apoplexy, which has lately proved fatal to so many eminent Americans.

The night before, Mr. Everett was as well as usual. On the Monday previous he delivered an address at Faneuil Hall on sending relief to Savannah, and the next day attended court in reference to some local lawsuit. The news of his death created a great sensation in Boston. The intelligence was announced in the churches on Sunday morning, and the church bells tolled. Throughout the country the highest honors have been paid to his memory.

Of the political career of Mr. Everett we have not space at this time to speak. During all that portion of his life which preceded the rebellion, his course, so far as slavery was concerned, was that of a compromiser, ever ready to yield to the exactions of the Slave Power. He was constitutionally timid, afraid of innovation, and disposed to yield to the authority of precedent and custom. The *Evening Post*, however, after referring to this trait of his character, well says:

"But even from this constitutional weakness Mr. Everett emancipated himself, towards the latter part of his life, with a noble magnanimity and grace. On the outbreak of the war, when it became every man's duty to take his stand, Mr. Everett chose his position at once with frankness, fearlessness and even grandeur. Flinging aside the persuasions of the circle of admiring friends of which he had always been the pet and ornament; looking his own forty years of speech-making and action full in the face, and even forgetting all fears of what was to come, he took up heartily the cause of the war; he approved it, he urged it, he justified it, he made the most eloquent appeals in its behalf, and never for a moment swerved from the lofty end to which he had devoted the residue of his life. Nor can it be doubted that his example and words have been signally beneficial; more so than those of more impetuous men, less accustomed to consider their movements, and to shiver on the brink of great events. He carried with him thousands who are not caught up by enthusiasm, but who look to such cautious leaders for the word which shall declare the path of duty. In the charities of the war, those deep deposits of humane feeling, which seem to underly and soften it everywhere, as the new oil underlies our soil, his heart was wholly enlisted; and his last speech, the swan song of his melodious life, was made in furtherance of the benevolent contributions to Savannah."

Let us be Just.—Our Boston correspondent is one of the fairest men we know—incapable of doing the slightest injustice, designedly or even consciously, to anybody. And yet we think he does very great injustice to the President when, in the letter herewith published, he speaks of him as "*choosing* to put down the rebellion without interference with slavery, had that been possible." We can remember no "written words" of his which, fairly construed, justify this imputation. He has indeed said that he would, if possible, put down the rebellion without freeing the slaves; not, however, as we understand the case, because he was friendly to slavery, or reluctant to abolish it by constitutional means, but because he held that, apart from *military necessity*, he had no jurisdiction of the question. In other words, if he *could* put down the rebellion without proclaiming emancipation, his oath of office, according to his construction thereof, left him no choice in the matter; the constitutional *right* to abolish slavery accrued only when he should become convinced that the measure was a military necessity. Of two methods, in his view equally within the scope of his constitutional powers, he did not therefore "*choose*" the one which would not directly abolish slavery; he tried that method only so long as he felt bound by his oath to do so, and adopted the other just as soon as it became clear to his mind that the emergency, which could alone justify it, had arisen. That he was slow to perceive that which from the very beginning was clear to the apprehension of Abolitionists, and that he was over-cautious in so long declining to follow their advice, we believe; but we see no reason for imputing to him moral indifference as between slavery and freedom, still less a moral *preference* for the method of dealing with the rebellion which would have left slavery unharmed.

We know very well that in saying this we are liable to incur in some quarters the charge of partisanship for the President, or of a willingness to excuse his faults; but we should be ashamed of ourselves if we could, for such a reason, hesitate to do him justice, or allow ourselves to put an unfair or an ungenerous construction upon his words or acts.

Louisiana.—The Committee of Elections in the U. S. House of Representatives has decided, after careful deliberation upon the whole subject, to report in favor of admitting the Representatives from New Orleans, and to exclude those from the other Districts.

### *PERSONAL.*

Gen. Geo. B. McClellan and his family are now on a visit to his relatives in Philadelphia, previous to their departure for Europe.

The late William Curtis Noyes has devised his magnificent and valuable library, which was one of the largest and most complete in this country, to the Hamilton College, in this State.

The Empress Eugenie is said to have invited the younger Dumas to Compiegne, adding to her courtesy an assurance that all the guests were to enjoy full liberty in the chateau. "What a pity, then, Madame," said M. Dumas, "that all France has not been invited."

The Senate has confirmed the following nominations: Gen. William T. Sherman, Major-General in the regular army, *vice* Wool, retired; Gen. Sheridan, Major-General in the regular army, *vice* McClellan, resigned; Gen. Thomas, Major-General in the regular army, *vice* Fremont, resigned.

Rev. Thomas Johnson, who distinguished himself as a leader in the pro-slavery crusade against Kansas eight years ago, but who, since the breaking out of the rebellion, had been a strong Union man and spoken and labored therefor, was cruelly murdered by a party of guerillas in his own house, near Westport, Mo., on the 6th inst.

Mrs. Alcina Wilhelm, M.D., is engaged to lecture in Ohio, for the benefit of the Soldiers' Aid Society, on the Rebellion, its political, social and moral effects upon the present generation. Mrs. Wilhelm is a prominent member of the War Widows' Working Association of Philadelphia, and was actively engaged in the hospitals on the field after the battle of Gettysburg.

Frederick Douglass lectured to a good audience at the Cooper Institute on Friday evening, 13th inst. The speech was in his best vein, and afforded great satisfaction to those who heard it. It is a singular fact that the only daily paper that thought it worth while to give even a moderately full report of what he said was Ben Wood's Secesh *News*!

A distinguished compliment was paid Vice-Admiral Farragut in the Senate the other day, by that body taking a recess in order that the Senators might be introduced personally on the floor of the Senate. After the introduction he was escorted to the House by Senator Grimes, Chairman of the Naval Committee, and was introduced to members by Representative Rice, Chairman of the House Committee on Naval Affairs.

William Lloyd Garrison was prevented by temporary illness from fulfilling his engagement to lecture in Philadelphia on Monday evening, and the Hon. George Thompson took his place. It will be seen by a notice in another column that Mr. Garrison is expected to lecture next Tuesday evening in the Cooper Institute. Subject—"The Punishment and Redemption of our Country." The Hall ought to be filled to its utmost capacity.

Among the passengers lost in the steamer Melville, in the voyage from this city to Port Royal, was Col. Hawks of Deerfield, Mass., who was on his way to Hilton Head to recover the body of a beloved brother, who had recently died there. He went on his sad errand with the sympathy of all the people of Deerfield, where he was universally esteemed and beloved, and where his loss is felt as a public calamity. He left a wife, an aged mother, and seven fine sons, the youngest a babe!

Theodore Tilton, Editor of the *Independent*, returned on Tuesday evening from a lecturing tour throughout the Great West, and reports the patriotic energy and confidence of the people as beyond exaggeration. He had never before visited the West, and he returns with enlarged conceptions of its capabilities and higher hopes for its magnificent future.

Mrs. Foote, the wife of "Hangman Foote," arrived in Washington, a few days since, where she has received distinguished attentions from Mr. Seward and others. Her husband, lately a member of the rebel Congress from Tennessee, attempted to come North with her, but was arrested and taken back. Mr. Foote was never a friend of Jeff. Davis, and seeing that the rebellion is sure to fail, he is anxious to escape from the wreck.

The loyal men of Philadelphia have subscribed and raised a fund with which to purchase and present to the wife of Lieut.-Gen. Grant a new first-class residence, furnished from top to bottom. Mrs. Grant has been officially notified of this gratifying fact. It was her New Year's present. The cost will be nearly $50,000. The widow of the deceased Gen. Birney has also been presented with a house costing $10,000, and an additional $20,000 have been invested for her benefit.

Mrs. Hutchins, the Baltimore rebel who was lately sent to the penitentiary in Fitchburg, Mass., for her disloyal practices, and afterwards released, voluntarily subscribed to an oath of allegiance of the strongest character, in which she acknowledged that the act for which she was tried and condemned was "wrongful and improper" on her part, and gave her word of honor that she henceforth would be of good behavior toward the government of the United States, and do no act to aid or comfort its enemies.

The American Missionary Association, of this city, has sent an agent—Rev. S. W. Magill—to Savannah, to make early provision for the wants of the blacks made free by the triumphant march of Sherman through Georgia. He will also look into the condition of such of the white population as may be made destitute by the stern exigencies of war. Mr. M., though recently a pastor in Connecticut, was a native of Georgia, and for several years preached in the vicinity of Savannah.

Among the passengers lost on the steamer Melville, lately wrecked on the passage from New York to Port Royal, were Mr. Wm. W. Bishop of Providence and two of his daughters. It had been deemed best for the health of the elder of the two daughters, Mary, to spend a few weeks in the mild climate of our southern coast, and her father and her sister were accompanying her to Hilton Head. Mr. Bishop, says the Providence *Journal*, was a man of great activity, energy, and integrity, and was most highly respected by all who knew him. He was in the prime of life, and a future of happiness and prosperity seemed open before him. He was the only brother of the wife of Gen. Burnside. His aged mother, his wife, and two daughters survive him.

The Boston *Commonwealth*, referring to a suggestion of the New York *Evening Post*, that Gov. Andrew, in a certain contingency, might be placed at the head of the Treasury Department, says:

"In common with all the Governor's friends in this State, we think that the Treasury is not the fittest position for Gov. Andrew. There is, however, a general feeling throughout the country that Gov. Andrew's great capacity for public service should be recognized in the next Cabinet, and those who know him best believe that the true field of usefulness for him is the Navy Department. It is conceded, we believe, that there is to be a change in that department, and that Mr. Welles's successor should be from New England. Much, therefore, as we should all regret to lose Gov. Andrew from the position he now adorns, still we feel that the exigencies of the public service fully warrant the yielding of all local preferences, and Massachusetts would gladly hail his elevation to so responsible and honorable a public trust."

The Rebellion Record has reached the end of the Seventh volume with the publication of Part XLV., completing the Diary of Events and the collection of Documents of the War to Nov. 1, 1863. The portraits of the number are those of Generals A. Willich and James S. Negley.

Messrs. Putnam and Holt, finding that other responsible duties and interests prevent them from giving such exclusive attention to the Rebellion Record and the Portrait Gallery of the War as their growing importance demands, have been induced, with the consent of Mr. Frank Moore, the editor of these works, to dispose of their entire interest in them to Mr. D. Van Nostrand, 192 Broadway, who, with greater facilities for their prompt and improved appearance, respectfully solicits a continuance of the patronage which has heretofore been bestowed upon them. We need not here repeat what we have so often said of the great historic value of the Rebellion Record, and of the diligence, accuracy and skill with which the editor has thus far performed his important work.

## Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Jan. 15, 1865.

The debate in the House on the Constitutional Amendment is closed, but the vote has not been taken. It is understood that when the subject is taken up again, no debate will be allowed, but the vote will be taken at once. Mr. Ashley consented to the postponement under the impression that a two-thirds majority could not be expected. A subsequent private count revealed the fact that *one more than two-thirds* of those present would have voted for the Joint Resolution. Whether it is true that two-thirds of the House are willing that the Amendment should be referred to the people, or it was an accident, no one can certainly tell. It begins, however, to look very much as if the Joint Resolution would pass, and I set it down now that it will *probably* be agreed to. When Congress came together I had no confidence in the possibility of carrying it through the present House. I chance to know that this was the opinion of some of the leading Republican members. Unexpectedly the Opposition has broken down upon the issue. Very few members will vote for it—*Opposition* members, I mean—but there are several who consider it a foregone conclusion, and feel that it is about as well to save the necessity of calling an extra session of the new Congress. It is sure to be adopted by the next Congress, and why should this one oppose it? Mr. Pendleton of Ohio did one good hour's work towards passing the resolution. He took startling positions. Jeff. Davis himself could not have taken worse. He advocated the most ultra State-rights doctrines, and charged that it was the Abolitionists, and not the rebels, who caused the present war! His argument was so monstrous that his party friends were alarmed, and the very next day Mr. Cox controverted it. The result is that Cox and Pendleton are in a quarrel, and it is extending to all parts of the Opposition side of the House. This is helping Mr. Ashley in his work. Mr. Pendleton has been greatly overrated in certain quarters. He is a *courteous* man, but he is not a man of profound attainments or abilities. I see that Gen. Garfield calls him a "gallant" man. I don't see any "gallantry" in his course, but, on the contrary, very much that is ungallant. His sympathies are with the traitors—his proper place is in the Richmond Congress. He will not vote in support of our noble armies. Is this "gallant" conduct? I suppose that Gen. Garfield used the word as expressing his idea of Mr. Pendleton's character as a private individual. He is affable, parliamentary, and inclined to defend treason. Some people think him courageous, but he is not. If he had ever dared to rebuke the outrages of some of his Southern friends in Congress when they interrupted the debates with bowie-knives and revolvers, I should consider him a brave man. He was *cringing* then, and I cannot give him credit for boldness now. Ben. Wood is a great deal bolder, and probably not less loyal. As a man, forgetting his public position, he is gentle, polite and attractive. Now, Gen. Garfield himself is what I call a "gallant" man. He is bold, brave and generous. That he is courteous to a political foe the fact alluded to proves. But if he were disloyal I could not call him "gallant." He proved his gallantry on the field of battle, and not on the floor of Congress making arguments in defence of traitors. Are we ever to have done with saying flattering words of "mild-mannered" knaves?

Thaddeus Stevens's speech in the House on Friday, though it lasted but ten minutes, was one of the best he has ever made during his public life. It made a deep impression upon the House. Two or three of the opening paragraphs were particularly fine, when he went back to his earlier life. He said:

"From my earliest youth I was taught to read the Declaration of Independence and to revere its sublime principles. As I advanced in life and became somewhat enabled to consult the writings of the great men of antiquity, I found in all their works which have survived the ravages of time and come down to the present generation, one unanimous denunciation of tyranny and slavery, and eulogy of liberty. Homer, Æschylus, the great Greek tragedian, Cicero, Hesiod, Virgil, Tacitus, and Sallust, in immortal language, all denounced slavery as a thing which took away half the man and degraded human beings, and sang pæans in the noblest strains to the goddess of liberty. And my hatred of this infernal institution and my love of liberty were further inflamed as I saw the inspired teachings of Socrates and the divine inspirations of Jesus.

"Being fixed in these principles, immovably and immutably, I took my stand among my fellow-citizens, and on all occasions, whether in public or in private, in season and, if there could be such a time, out of season, I never hesitated to express those ideas and sentiments, and when I first went into public assemblies, forty years ago, I uttered this language. I have done it amid the pelting and hooting of mobs, but I never quailed before the infernal spirit, and I hope I never shrank from the responsibility of my language."

And again:

"When, fifteen years ago, I was honored with a seat in this body, it was dangerous to talk against this institution, a danger which gentlemen now here will never be able to appreciate. Some of us, however, have experienced it; my friend from Illinois on my right (Mr. Washburne) has. And yet, sir, I did not hesitate, in the midst of bowie-knives and revolvers and howling demons upon the other side of the House, to stand here and denounce this infamous institution in language which possibly now, on looking at it, I might deem intemperate, but which I then deemed necessary to rouse the public attention and cast odium upon the worst institution upon earth, one which is a disgrace to man and would be an annoyance to the infernal spirit."

This is true, and everybody who knows Mr. Stevens is aware of it. He is growing old, and this Winter especially he seems to be failing, not in his intellectual faculties, but in his physical strength. He has once or twice referred to his condition as if he did not expect to last much longer, and in concluding his brief speech, from which the above extracts are taken, he made a most pathetic and noble reference to the time when "we all moulder in the dust." *Then* all that he would ask was that upon his tombstone it should be written that he had always striven to ameliorate the condition of the poor, the lowly, and the down-trodden of every race and language and color. The House burst into applause as he sat down.

Gen. Butler is in town, to appear before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, to testify in reference to the Wilmington expedition. There is a prospect of a fierce controversy between Generals Butler and Grant, or rather between their friends. Gen. Grant condemns Butler for disobeying (in spirit) his instructions, and for general lack of military capacity. Gen. Butler comes here ready to make some sweeping charges against Gen. Grant, as it is understood. He is wise enough not to quarrel with the President, knowing that the act of removal was Gen. Grant's. There is no room for doubt on this point. The responsibility of the President is strictly confined to doing what Gen. Grant asked of him. He could not well do otherwise. So long as Grant is Lieutenant-General he must be permitted to choose his subordinate Generals. Therefore no fair-minded man can attack the Administration because Gen. Butler was removed. It is the act of the Lieutenant-General. It was known here some days ago that Gen. Grant was very angry with the failure of the first Wilmington expedition. One can judge then of the position occupied by Gen. Terry, who commands the *second* Wilmington expedition. There is but one thing before him—he must attack Fort Fisher—no matter what may be the condition of its defences or at what certain loss of life. Following Butler, he cannot imitate his conduct. At the date of this writing there is no news of the second Wilmington expedition, and the most intense solicitude prevails upon the subject. We have had a week of very fine weather. Better could not have been asked for.

The great debate of the session will be upon the Reconstruction bill, which will come up for consideration in a day or two. Mr. Kelley of Philadelphia leads off with a good argument in favor of negro suffrage throughout the South. It is a bold position for a Congressman to take, who comes from a Republican city where negroes cannot ride in the street cars. Mr. Kelley is undoubtedly right, and I cannot but hope that the Republican party of Philadelphia will after a while take its tone from Mr. Kelley.

Republicans here are very indignant at the conduct of the Massachusetts Senate. It is felt to be an insult to Mr. Wilson. He will be reëlected to the Senate, but he did not deserve such treatment from gentlemen who professed to be his friends, and who were elected as such. In the end he will be the gainer by the movement, but it is hard to bear for the present moment.

Avon.

Arrest of Spies and Hotel Burners.—The military authorities of this department, aided by the police, have tracked and arrested four men, supposed to be rebel spies and hotel-burners. They are in Fort Lafayette, where they are to be tried by Court Martial, by order of Gen. Dix.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, January 16th, 1865.

You queried, in a note appended to a former letter, whether your correspondent had not too hastily accepted common rumor in saying that Mr. Lincoln at one time declared the Emancipation proclamation to have been "a blunder." I am not unmindful of the necessity of care in such matters. If I had followed common rumor in this case, I should have quoted the President as calling the act in question the greatest blunder of his Administration. I have not been able to see the person to whom he is reputed to have used this latter expression, but I have seen a gentleman, trustworthy and accurate in the highest degree, to whom he said that he feared the proclamation had done more harm than good. It is the substance rather than the form of a matter like this about which I am solicitous, though I desire to be accurate in regard to the form also. But even the strongest of the expressions above-mentioned will be less damaging to the President's fame than his deliberately written words about choosing to put down the rebellion without interference with slavery, had that been possible. The name Abolitionist is now applied by slaveholders and rebels to Mr. Lincon, as it has always been to us; but we, who adopted that name as our appropriate one thirty years ago, and have ever since acted in accordance with it, should never have chosen to spare the evil root when we cut off the evil branch. We should never suppose that the Emancipation proclamation could *possibly* do more harm than good. There is a difference between those who oppose slavery always and everywhere on principle, and those who act for or against it according to the suggestions of a presumed expediency. And there is a reason why we need to keep this difference in mind in the present case, instead of acting on the generally preferable rule of letting by-gones be by-gones. We are constantly called to form and express opinions, to take sides of approval or disapproval, towards acts of the Administration largely involving the rights and interests of our clients, the colored people, but prospective and progressive in character, and mainly dependent for their good or ill working upon the spirit and purpose, first, of the Administration, and next, of the subordinates employed by the Administration. If Mr. Garrison or Mr. Phillips had the control of affairs in Louisiana, we should have full assurance that, in the process of restoring the rights of the nation, the rights of the negroes would not be disregarded or undervalued. With Mr. Lincoln, we have not this assurance. True, he is making progress from year to year, and his last acts are his best. But even great advance, on the ground of expediency, does not give us such confidence as a position steadily held on the ground of principle. We are not yet out of the woods. It is not yet permitted us to cease from watching and criticizing the Administration.

I was much interested in reading your reply to Mr. Conway's note. The idea that Abolitionists, as such, were "opposed to all war," is certainly one of his unauthorized conclusions. Those who held this view were always a minority numerically insignificant; and that minority is now smaller that ever. In talking about what "Abolitionists" think, Non-Resistants are to be left out of sight; just as, in the proceedings of the American Anti Slavery Society, they are left out of mind.

You and I, I think, would agree exactly in regard to the proper reply to Mr. Conway's question; and yet I could wish something more to be expressed than I find in your printed reply. This seems to me to be eminently one of the cases in which the reason of an answer should be expressed in the answer. I would give no chance for a foreigner to think, when he reads the reply to such a question—Here, then, is an American Abolitionist who admits that his class would favor war to prevent a diminution of territory. The point of diminution of territory, so far from being the only thing, is not even the *main* thing for which we are contending against the rebels.

On the other hand, the suppositions upon which Mr. Conway's questions proceed are not for a moment to be admitted. Would you support the war if slavery were not involved in it at all? As well ask—Would you support the war if no blood were shed in it? Slavery *is* involved in it. Slavery is the moving spring of the whole of it. Even if, in desperation, the rebel leaders shall do what they have of late been proposing, and emancipate slaves enough to recruit their armies, the maintenance of slavery will still be the object for which they are fighting; their success would still be the triumph of slavery. Then as to the supposition of obtaining security for the fulfilment of the promises of Southern leaders to give up slavery! How is a contract to be made with men, the least of whose crimes for the past twenty years has been systematic and continuous perjury? Whenever the Southern *people* are ready to lay down their arms, and cease to follow the villains who have led them into rebellion, they will experience a renewal of the kind treatment, the liberal and generous consideration, which, on the testimony of Alexander H. Stephens himself, the South has ever received from the North. But to treat, in any way whatever, with the leaders of secession, would be an act of unspeakable folly. According to the laws and customs of nations, hanging is the doom they have deserved; but at the very least, belonging, as they do, to the worst class of felons, they should be confined at hard labor in a penitentiary for life.

The emissaries of the Confederate leaders have so long been propagating in Europe the lying pretence that it is liberty, independence, and the right of self-government only for which they are fighting, and this pretence, by dint of repetition, has rooted itself in so many minds there, that any statement of the matter on our side ought, in justice to itself, to rehearse the facts which Messrs. Mason and Slidell have been endeavoring to shuffle out of sight; at least the following, namely: That the rebel leaders *began* the war; that their purpose was to overthrow our government, to seize our Capital, to assassinate our President; that they prepared for this step by a long course of perjury and robbery, and initiated it by violence and murder; that their intent was to legalize and extend the foreign slave trade, and to prevent the people of any part of the North from giving asylum to the fugitives from their oppression; that sad experience has abundantly proved to us that not the slightest confidence can be reposed in their word or oath; and that any cessation or suspension of hostilities on our side would be only so much license to them to press on towards the accomplishment of the purposes above rehearsed. The answer to Mr. Conway's question is that the great majority of Abolitionists, as of other good citizens, feel it a duty to stand by their government in a case where its right, and the wrong of its opponents, are thoroughly and equally manifest. Considering who and what the enemy is, any cessation of hostilities by our government or our people would be simply a lying down to be trampled on. Any possible treaty with these leaders of the rebellion would be merely a postponing of the war until some Northern man should again give shelter and comfort to a fugitive slave. Then the war would be sure to recommence on the Southern side. The Abolitionists proper, with an immense majority of the whole Northern people, think it far better to continue the present war until its originators are defeated, and their plans utterly destroyed, than to leave the seed of the old contest to bring forth its evil fruit five or ten years hence. They say with one voice—Let not this second revolution stop until it has established freedom throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.

Yesterday our citizens were startled with news of the sudden death, that very morning, of Hon. Edward Everett. His last days have been his best days. Sympathizing, before the war came, with Southern ideas and Southern institutions, he did not hesitate a moment which side to take when the Slave Power commenced a war against the life of the nation. When Lincoln and Hamlin were elected in 1860 by the voice of the people, he conceded to them the same right of administering and defending the government which he would have claimed for Bell and Everett, had they been elected. He has ever since given his voice in support of the Union and the Administration; his labors in various departments of the national welfare during the last year, especially for the relief of the persecuted loyalists of Tennessee, have been zealous and assiduous; his confidence in the rightfulness of our long protracted struggle was such that he voted for Abraham Lincoln in the election held last November; and the last address he made in public, a noble and beautiful close to a life intimately conversant with public affairs, was a speech to a great assembly in Faneuil Hall, urging the sending of immediate supplies of food to the suffering people of Savannah, as soon as that city had ceased to wage unjust war against the Union.

The subscription in aid of the people of Savannah had risen, on Saturday, to more than thirty-four thousand dollars. And on that day a vessel sailed with a large cargo, the first installment of provisions for Savannah, which, with prosperous weather, may be expected to reach that port by Saturday next.

North.

## Philadelphia Correspondence.

Philadelphia, Jan. 15, 1865.

*To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

The subject involving the exclusion of colored people from our street cars is at last receiving the attention which it has long imperatively demanded. The matter has been agitated and industriously kept before the public by the enemies of the abominable restriction, till there seems to be a fair prospect of its removal. The most cheering and hopeful evidence of such a result was the great meeting held in Concert Hall on Friday evening last, for the purpose of taking proper measures in regard thereto. The attendance was very large and most respectable in character. Entire harmony prevailed, and every individual present appeared to be animated with an earnest purpose to rid our city of a glaring species of injustice, and relieve it of a disgraceful stigma.

The call for the meeting was endorsed by a number of our most prominent and influential citizens. These attested the sincerity of their purpose by their presence. We noticed many faces that were new to gatherings of this kind, with a reformatory object in view, which seemed to tell how strong was the tide that had set in, favoring the rights of the people of color. A number of colored persons occupied seats upon the platform, while the vast audience was composed of white and colored indiscriminately associated. It was a practical illustration of the spirit and noble purpose that actuated the assemblage.

The Chairman of the meeting was Mathew W. Baldwin, Esq., a name well known in connection with the building of locomotives. Bishop Potter opened the proceedings with prayer. Rev. Phillips Brooks then read the names suggested for Vice-Presidents and Secretaries. J. Miller McKim made remarks touching the object of the meeting, and related instances illustrative of the cruel treatment to which the colored population are subjected, by reason of the existence of the inhuman regulations governing the street cars. He denounced the restriction imposed upon these people, as being wrong in principle and cruel in practice, and predicted that the time was fast approaching, in this country at least, when there would be a general recognition of the principle that each man has rights that every other man is bound to respect. In alluding to the signs of the times as being indicative of hopefulness and good cheer, he took occasion to say that Judge Taney was dead, and the mention of that fact raised a tumult of applause! The people seem to recognize that last act of the departed Judge as the only one consummated by him which merits their unqualified admiration. Mr. McKim offered a series of resolutions, which, at the close of the meeting, were adopted without a sign of dissent. Among these resolutions are the following:

Resolved, That we recognize as the two main causes of all our present troubles the enslavement of the black man at the South, and contempt manifested for him at the North; and we hold it to be fitting and just that both these great evils should disappear together; but, while we accord to every member of society the fullest liberty of choice and action in whatever relates to private interests, subject only to the control of law and conscience, we protest against the assumption that an unchristian prejudice or a fastidious taste may longer be allowed to take precedence of justice and humanity in determining the rights of any class of our citizens to the use of our public conveniences and institutions.

Resolved, That we respectfully request the Presidents and Directors of our City Railroads to withdraw from their list of regulations this rule of exclusion which deprives our people of color of their rights, and is in direct opposition to the recent decisions of our Courts of Justice.

The last resolution of the series provides that a Committee of twenty-one be appointed to present a copy of the resolutions to each one of the Presidents of our City Railroads, requesting a response to the same, and to report the result of their mission by the 25th inst. The names of the Committee thus appointed are as follows: B. P. Hunt, Cadwalader Biddle, Horace Binney, Jr., M. L. Dawson, John Ashurst, N. B. Browne, Charles Gibbons, S. Colwell, E. W. Clark, P. P. Randolph, J. W. Field, Ab'm Barker, E. Wetherill, R. T. Corson, George H. Stuart, John P. Verree, L. Coffin, James Mott, J. M. McKim, F. R. Cope and S. S. White.

Mr. McKim was followed by Abraham Barker, Esq., whose remarks were well received, embracing as they did the narration of some very interesting incidents connected with the subject under consideration. This gentleman's influence in behalf of the rights of the colored people is valuable and well appreciated. He was in favor of every man having all the privileges God intended he should enjoy.

After him came Rev. Mr. Allston, a learned and worthy colored citizen, who was born in North Carolina of parents who had been slaves, and who was educated to his profession in Ohio. The outline of his career as gathered from his fitting and fervent remarks, well and modestly uttered, was highly interesting, and his speech was listened to with the utmost attention. Throughout his life he had not encountered such a satanical spirit as that which had confronted him in the shape of this car restriction in the City of Philadelphia. He beautifully recited a few verses of a Hebrew poet, in the original tongue, the essence of which was—who shall enter the beautiful kingdom? and the answer was, he that hath clean hands and a pure heart. The King of kings was no respecter of persons, and unto his care had been committed the destiny of the colored race. He appealed to the citizens of Philadelphia to emulate the example of love and brotherhood which had characterized its founder, and renew his spirit to-day, and Heaven's blessing would descend upon them.

Next came Rev. W. H. Furness, who said that the car restriction was such an utter relic of barbarism—such a mass of meanness and absurdity, that he had no patience to speak upon it. Did the colored people, instead of being animated by a wonderful spirit of patience, forgiveness and prayer, manifest a feeling akin to that of our Irish brethren, or even the Yankees, the name of Conductor would be synonymous with a man with a broken head. Some three months ago he was in a car, when the mother and sister of a colored soldier were refused admittance therein, but were ordered to the front platform. The occurrence so deeply moved him that he stepped out and advised them to leave the car altogether, which they did, he accompanying them; and he had not since been in one of these cars for his own convenience, and did not intend again to patronize them till they were managed with equal justice.

Mr. Robert Purvis next spoke. He commenced by paying a handsome tribute to the distinguished and venerable gentleman whose name headed the call for the meeting—Horace Binney. He remarked that this exclusion of the colored people from the cars of our city, like all other disabilities under which they labored, subjecting them to an ordeal of indescribable suffering, arose from the false and impious assumption of the preëminence of the white race over the black. As a man, believing in the doctrine of human equality, he could not ask as a boon that which he claimed as a right. In other words, he asked no favors where rights were to be conceded and respected. As a man, speaking for men and to men, he could only demand, in the name of our common humanity, and in the name of the living God—*give us justice!* He believed in the sentiment expressed by Mr. Garrison, that "he would as soon deny the existence of a God, as to denounce the workmanship of his hands." At the suggestion of a friend he had concluded to give some account of certain incidents connected with his personal experience. In excellent style he narrated the circumstance of his passages across the Atlantic, in company with a number of Southern slaveholders, who, ignorant of the secret of his genealogy, feted, honored and extolled him, and whose friendly fellow-feeling was suddenly changed into the direst indignation and amazement when he unlocked that secret to their ears, near the close of the voyage. The audience enjoyed with the truest relish and merriment the recital of this amusing circumstance. The conclusion of the speaker's remarks was eloquent, and elicited great appplause.

The next speaker was Rev. Phillips Brooks, whose appearance was greeted with the most fervent enthusiasm. This gentleman spoke with his usual power and eloquence, and every sentence possessed weight and

excellence. His beautiful and noble words were listened to with admiration, and could not fail to have exerted a good, substantial influence.

Dr. Bellows spoke next. He remarked that the presence of every individual there was a vote in favor of the resolutions. He said it was the low and vulgar people who kept the door of the street car closed against the negro, who strove hard to find something below themselves, and made him their victim. Among the better class moral cowardice often prevented a recognition of his rights. The prejudice against him was mean and vulgar.

Benjamin F. Brewster, Esq., was the next speaker, who said he wished to declare by his presence the truth that was in him. As a lawyer he gave it as his opinion that the directors of the street cars had no right whatever to prohibit colored people from riding in those cars. He ridiculed the wretched practice of excluding them, scorned the miserable prejudice, and presented the case in its most ludicrous and absurd aspect.

The resolutions were then adopted with unanimous assent, and the Committee chosen, after which the meeting adjourned. Be assured, it was a grand and glorious meeting, such as could not fail to make the hearts of the old-time friends of the colored race beat high with exultant joy; and they mingled with mutual satisfaction their warm congratulations in the changed and changing times.

OSCAR.

### *PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY.*

THE "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race," was organized in 1774, and incorporated by the Legislature in 1789, at which time Dr. Franklin was its President.

At a meeting of this Society, held 29th ult., the following were chosen officers for the present year:

*President*—Dillwyn Parrish.

*Vice-Presidents*—Benj. Coates and T. E. Chapman.

*Secretaries*—Jos. M. Truman, Jr., and Lukens Webster.

*Treasurer*—Caleb Clothier.

*Librarian*—J. M. Truman, Jr.

*Acting Committee*—Dillwyn Parrish, P. Williamson, H. Ryland Warriner, Jos. M. Truman, Jr., C. Clothier, Edward Parrish, Alfred H. Love.

*Committee on Property*—C. Clothier, T. E. Chapman and H. R. Warriner.

*Board of Education*—Benj. Coates, T. E. Chapman, Dillwyn Parrish, Macpherson Saunders, Wm. Heacock, H. R. Warriner, Wm. M. Levick, C. Clothier, J. M. Truman, Jr., L. Webster, Marcellus Balderston, Dr. Geo. Truman, Oliver H. Wilson.

*Counsellors*—David Paul Brown, Edward Hopper, Geo. H. Earle, Wm. S. Pierce, H. R. Warriner, Wm. M. Levick, Jos. R. Rhoads, Thaddeus Stevens and Jos. J. Lewis.

D. P. Brown has been Counsellor for the Society since 1818, and zealously defended the cause of freedom when fugitive slave cases were of frequent occurrence.

### *TEMPERANCE TRACTS.*

*To the Editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard.*

LET us leave nothing undone to stem the torrent of intemperance which now threatens us. Temperance Societies, however useful, are insufficient for the exigency. Temperance lectures, such as the fastidious demand, are expensive and scarce. The popular press and temperance tracts must do more, or we shall go to wreck and ruin. True, we have had tracts, but too often of the long, lank and lean "kine." We need such as are short and sharp, not only *readable*, but which will be absolutely *read*, and which, going into the very crevices of sin and crime, will lodge burning truth on the conscience of every distiller, vender and sot in a village.

Such tracts we have. They are written by godly men of strength and genius. Some of them assail only Alcohol in its manifold forms and abuses—and some assail the twin-demons, Rum and Tobacco—all varieties for all tastes. Five dollars will spread a thousand and more over a village. A hundred dollars—the price of one *fashionable* lecture—will spread them over twenty villages. And we here give notice that if any person or persons, "hungering and thirsting" to do good in plucking fellow-men from the fire, wish for our tracts (and are unable to pay for them) they can have them WITHOUT MONEY AND WITHOUT PRICE.

True, we are not a rich Tract Society. We seldom have five dollars five days in our coffers, but we do what we can, on our "own hook," untrammelled by lordly societies or captious committees. We depend on the voluntary donations of a few—a very few—of God's dear children, who like our independent manner of battling popular abominations, and who send us what they please. "Though poor, we make many rich."

Therefore, gentle reader, be free to call for our tracts, for God, who of old replenished the widow's cruse, will not leave our cause to starve.

GEORGE TRASK.

Fitchburg (Mass.) Temperance Depository, Jan. 1865.

### *FREE MISSOURI.*

AT a stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held on the 12th inst, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, and it was ordered that it should be offered the STANDARD for publication.

Resolved, That we unite in the glad congratulation which Pennsylvania sends to "Free Missouri"; and that we hail her newly-achieved emancipation as another event in the grand series of the triumphs of Freedom which, during the last few years, have glorified our country's annals, and overwhelmed our souls with inexpressible wonder and gratitude.

SARAH PUGH, President.

GULIELMA M. JONES, Secretary.

EMANCIPATION IN MISSOURI.—Gov. Fletcher issued a proclamation on Saturday last, declaring Missouri a Free State, in accordance with the Emancipation Ordinance passed by the State Convention. Hundreds of business houses and private residences were brilliantly illuminated in the evening. Bands of music played, fire-works were exploded, and thousands of enthusiastic citizens thronged the streets to witness the grand spectacle.

The regeneration of Missouri has filled the whole land with joy. Gov. Fletcher, after the passage of the Emancipation Ordinance, sent telegraphic messages to Gov. Fenton of New York and Gov. Curtin of Pennsylvania. The message to Gov. Fenton was, "Free Missouri greets you"; and Gov. Fenton's reply was, "God bless free Missouri." To Gov. Curtin Gov. Fletcher sent, "Free Missouri greets her oldest sister," and Gov. Curtin's response was as follows:

"Pennsylvania, first-born of freedom, welcomes her disenthralled sister State of Missouri. Redeemed in the agony of the nation, and amid the throes of wanton rebellion, her offering to liberty comes baptized in her richest blood, and will be accepted by a faithful and free people as one of the coming tributes to their matchless heroism and their sacrifices to preserve and perpetuate our common nationality."

GEORGE THOMPSON IN PHILADELPHIA.—Our friend, Alfred H. Love, in a letter dated on Tuesday, says: "Last evening witnessed one of those outpourings of public feeling that are usually vouchsafed only upon great and momentous occasions. Concert Hall was crowded to hear the distinguished orator, George Thompson, on behalf of the "Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania." He came in place of William Lloyd Garrison, who was prevented by sickness from inaugurating this remarkable movement of the colored people. Mr. Garrison's illness and consequent absence caused the deepest regret, but Mr. Thompson's address was heard with delight by the crowded auditory. Rachel Wilson Moore added a few words of commendation and exhortation at the close of the lecture. The colored people were grateful and exultant."

—We are requested to announce that Mr. Thompson, being somewhat feeble, is spending the week in Philadelphia, and that he will speak on Monday evening next, at 8 o'clock, in Spring Garden Hall. Subject: "Then, Now and Hence."

PEACE!—Old Mr. Blair has returned from his mission to Richmond, where he is said to have had an interview with Jeff. Davis—with what results nobody knows, and few seem to care. That peace can be brought about by such unofficial and fussy diplomacy few see any reason to believe or hope.

### *THE THIRTY-FIRST*

## NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was organized for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty years, through lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of anti-slavery publications, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the government to maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION. But slavery is not yet abolished, even in the Rebel States, except by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tenacious existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections of the country. Not until its utter extirpation everywhere should the American Anti-Slavery Society be disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the American soil. That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, inasmuch as the potential sentiment of the people in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inasmuch as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE!

Once more, then—and we trust for the last time—let the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, regenerated in their views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable labors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vindicating the rights of human nature on the broad platform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is especially deserving of consideration and coöperative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion, and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the government in its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfulness, whatever the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, and the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, may feel disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering at Boston, on WEDNESDAY evening, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose crown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through years of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence!

Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly acknowledged and faithfully expended.

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|---|---|
| L. Maria Child, | Caroline M. Severance, |
| Mary May, | Elizabeth Gay, |
| Louisa Loring, | Mary Willey, |
| Henrietta Sargent, | Ann Rebecca Bramhall, |
| Helen Eliza Garrison, | Sarah J. Nowell, |
| Sarah Shaw Russell, | Elizabeth von Arnim, |
| Sarah Russell May, | Abby H. Stephenson, |
| Anna Shaw Greene, | Eliza Apthorp, |
| Sarah Blake Shaw, | Sarah Cowing, |
| Caroline C. Thayer, | Sarah H. Southwick, |
| Lydia D. Parker, | Mary Elizabeth Sargent, |
| Caroline R. Putnam, | Sarah C. Atkinson, |
| Mattie Griffith, | Abby Francis, |
| Mary Jackson, | Georgina Otis, |
| Evelina A. Smith, | Katharine Earle Farnum, |
| Sarah Bradford, | Rebecca Bradford, |

Ellen Wright Garrison.

☞ As in preceding years, this Anniversary Meeting will be held in the MUSIC HALL, Boston. The time (as above named) is WEDNESDAY evening next, 25th instant, from 7 to 10 p.m. Addresses are expected from Hon. GEORGE THOMPSON and Rev. ROBERT C. WATERSTON, commencing at 8 o'clock. The music of the great ORGAN cannot fail to prove a welcome addition to the other attractions of the occasion. And we may reasonably anticipate that the meeting will prove interesting and successful to the full extent of any previous ones.

☞ As it has been impossible to send the customary invitation-notes to all whom we hope to see on the occasion, we desire to say that these may be procured, on the day of the meeting, by any friend of the anti-slavery cause, at the Anti-Slavery Office, 221 Washington street, Room No. 6.

## Chronicles of the War.

### Latest News in Brief.

We have glorious news this week. Fort Fisher, at the mouth of Cape Fear river, was taken by assault on Sunday last, after a desperate struggle. The land forces were substantially the same that composed the former expedition, but they were under command of Brig.-Gen. Terry. The assault was preceded by a heavy bombardment from the fleet under command of Rear Admiral Porter. The whole rebel garrison, numbering about 1,200 men, with its commander, Gen. Graham, was captured. The Union loss in killed and wounded is estimated at 900. The Richmond *Whig* says, "the capture of this fort is equivalent to the closing of the harbor of Wilmington by the enemy's fleet. It is situated about eighteen miles below the city, but was the main defence of the entrance to the river, and its fall therefore will prevent, in future, the arrival and departure of blockade-runners."

It is pretty well understood that Gen. Sherman has transferred his base of operations to Beaufort, South Carolina, where a part of his force has arrived, and that he is projecting a new campaign, involving the fall of Charleston.

### The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, *who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom*."—*Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.*

HELPING UNION PRISONERS TO ESCAPE.

Correspondence of the Tribune.

NASHVILLE, Jan. 1, 1865.

Last night, thirteen of our officers arrived here from Columbia, S. C. Some of them had been over eighteen months in captivity, and all of them made extraordinary sacrifices and endured considerable hardships in their journey through rebeldom to regain their freedom. Their story of a long and dreary captivity, their escape from prison and tedious wanderings, is a sad and painful one, but not unmixed with a tinge of romance. Five of them were sixty days in getting through, the others only about thirty. They were taken prisoners at different battles in Virginia and East Tennessee, and were first sent to Savannah. Afterward they were sent to Charleston, and placed under fire. The yellow fever breaking out, they were, with hundreds of others, forwarded to Columbia. They represent their treatment there as barbarous in the extreme. Their quarters, by a stretch of courtesy, went by the name of a prison, although it was a bleak, open field, without the shadow of even a solitary post. Here they were exposed to sun, rain and cold, without a particle of shelter by night or day. Their rations consisted of a pint of corn meal, a half pint of sorghum molasses, and a little salt, per day. Occasionally, they were allowed the luxury of a tablespoonful of flour or rice, by way of pleasing variety. They were required to cook their own food, but were not furnished with the first cooking utensil. At last, forbearance ceased to be a virtue, and they determined to risk everything in trying to effect their escape, rather than remain longer in their abominable confinement. With certain assistance that I must forbear to speak about, they slipped past the guards one dark night, and struck out for freedom and civilization.

Their experience afterward, until they got to the mountains of North Carolina, is the old story—the warmest attention and assistance from the negroes, while the face of every white man was shunned as the plague! I have talked to most of these officers, and I have seen their faces beam with gratification, while some were almost melted to tears, in recounting the friendly aid and acts of spontaneous, sympathetic kindness rendered by the poor, down-trodden negroes along the route. In looking over a couple of the officers' diaries, I could not help being struck with the numerous passages referring, by contrast, to African and Anglo-Saxon. Here is one or two from the diary of Lieut. W. L. Bath, 132d New York Infantry:

"Nov. 5—We started for Lexington, and finally found a plantation with negroes at work in the field, to whom we made ourselves known. They were delighted to see us, gave us what dinner they had with them, secreted us in the woods, where they had already put a party of four, and promised to bring us some more grub. Having rested until evening, the negroes bringing us several luncheons, when they then gave us a good supper, one of them, a boy twenty years old, Jim, took us down to the river, got a boat and took us across, then put us on the right road."

Here is another:

"Nov. 13—Last night we marched about twenty-five miles. Just before daybreak, while looking for a negro, we accidentally run upon a white man. We then made a wide detour through the woods to make sure of our escape from him, if possible, but he didn't follow us.

"Just before dark, we very foolishly went in the road, when we saw another white man, from whom we also got away safely."

[The New York *Times* publishes the narrative of Col. A. P. Bliss of the Tenth New York Cavalry, giving an account of his dreadful privations and sufferings as a prisoner in rebel hands. He made two attempts to escape, but was pursued by dogs and recaptured. The narrative goes on:]

On the 29th of November Capt. Bliss made a third attempt at escape, and was successful. The means by which it was accomplished he deems it proper not to make public, for fear of compromising others and subjecting them to still greater barbarity on the part of the rebels. It is sufficient to say that the first night and day he lay in the woods not half a mile from the stockade, covered up with leaves, and could hear around him in all directions footsteps and voices of guards, who were endeavoring to find his hiding place.

The second night after his escape the Captain started upon his perilous journey, intending, if possible, to reach the route over which he supposed Sherman's army would pass. Fortunately, he fell in with two officers of the Seventy-third Indiana, also escaped, and after a toilsome march of six nights and nearly famished, the three succeeded in reaching the Augusta and Charleston road.

Here the little party was secreted by a negro in the swamp, and liberally fed. The object of the delay at this point was to learn of Gen. Sherman's route. This was obtained; after four days, the friendly negro brought a paper—for which he had paid a dollar—giving the desired information, and the party prepared to start the next evening. Twenty-seven blacks, male and female, came into the swamp in a body, with a great abundance of supplies for the journey. They were all zealous and hopeful, and the parting was rendered memorable by the blessings and prayers of the sable throng. After five nights of travel, these officers reached the Savannah river. The country was filled with rebel troops, and it was only by the exercise of constant watchfulness that they were eluded.

With a case-knife, the gift of the negroes, they constructed a raft of saplings, drift wood, and vines, and crossed the Savannah Dec. 12. On the 13th they reached the railroad, 70 miles from Savannah; but although a negro was found, nothing could be obtained for food. Their stores given by the negroes were exhausted, and, with nothing to eat, they struggled on during two more nights. The third day they found five ears of corn each, and parched it at a deserted camp fire. On the 15th they reached the thirty miles station, and on the morning of the 16th their hearts were gladdened by the familiar sight of the dear old flag. During the last 76 hours of this wearisome journey, the five ears of corn each constituted their only food, and once during the early part of their travels they were without water 36 hours.

MORE ABOUT SHERMAN'S GRAND EXPEDITION.

[Extract of a letter to the *Liberator* from Chaplain J. H. Fowler, dated Hilton Head, Dec. 24.]

It is uncertain, as yet, how many colored people Gen. Sherman has permitted to come along with him. Some say twenty, some fifteen, some ten thousand. He has a large number, but perhaps one-quarter of those who desire to come. It is well known that he and many of his officers do not favor collecting them largely into the army. They were not encouraged, they were rather, as a general thing, discouraged, and often forcibly prevented coming along with his army. Several times the pontoons were taken up before they could get over them, leaving those who could not find means of their own to cross to go back, or fall victims to the brutal raid of the rebel forces as they came up full of cowardly rage. "Damn you," said the guards many times to the black men captured with me, "you are just such fellows as I like to kill." Unarmed negroes, negro women and children, who have followed the train of their supposed deliverers to the brink of a deep river which they are not permitted to pass, are just such people as the rebels like to kill. They slaughtered hundreds of them on the Weldon railroad, where Wheeler's raid ended. Whenever they come up with the fleeing or the returning negroes, they shoot them down as wild beasts. Negroes are "not worth" to them now; they have "no use for them" when they run away to the Yankees. And when it comes to this, they want to kill them. "Well," said the Sergeant who conducted me to Richmond, "if these niggers are set free, we'll just turn in and kill 'em all." "Kill 'em all" is the final argument for the free negro. "Kill 'em all" is what they seek to do with those unarmed fugitives from bondage that fall again into their hands. They would have done this to the armed, as they declared at first, had they dared; but they have backed down from this; and I believe, after a year's imprisonment and careful inquiry, they have not even had the courage to put a single captured soldier into the slavery of his former master. But we do not claim protection for the recaptured men, women and children, declared to be citizens of the United States. They may enslave or kill them with impunity, if they are outside of the army. Hence the cowardly creatures go at it with a relish peculiar to themselves.

No cruelty can be greater than to allow these people to follow the trains of our army, and then take up a pontoon between us and them, leaving them to fall into the hands of pursuing rebels, as did some of the officers of Sherman's army.

Such incidents are best appreciated when narrated at the same time with *facts in the experience of our returned prisoners*, who were almost entirely dependent upon the negroes in rebeldom for guidance, food and shelter, which they have never yet in a single instance withheld, but have often cheerfully granted at the greatest risk of their own lives. Said one of them, today, "No man who has escaped from a rebel prison can help being an Abolitionist." No matter what may be a prisoner's views of the negro, or of his rights; there is not a man in rebel hands, who, if he escaped, would not instinctively go to the negro, and shun the white man. He knows that the former is his friend, and will help him. He expects not help but betrayal from the other. Sometimes disappointed in the latter, he is never in the former.

"The negroes throughout the South understand this whole thing better than we do," said one of the escaped prisoners to-day, using the exact words I heard from ex Gov. Hamilton of Texas, and expressing a fact which it requires but little contact with them to establish. "They understood it at the beginning better than I did," said Gen. Hamilton. "Every negro in rebeldom makes our cause his cause, and the cause of God. They think the war is for them; and, of course, they will do all they can for an escaped Union prisoner." Said one just in from Columbia, speaking of the negroes with Sherman, "Last night I said, you officers of Sherman's army do not believe much in the negro." "Don't we? We have more faith in them and have better negro troops than any of you here. They are better, and do better fighting, than any of your Eastern negroes," replied a Western Captain. "We do not believe in putting them in to fill up State quotas. We believe those ought to be filled with the people of the several States at home, and leave them for the United States. But as to using them, we believe in it. They will stand longer in a fort than any other class of troops." And then he instanced several cases where they were surrendered by officers against their urgent desires. The negro will never surrender. He will sometimes break and run; so will veteran whites.

In this Department (Hilton Head) there are more negro soldiers than whites, and they mingle together without any apparent prejudice. I have seen squads drill together, parties playing, conversing, eating, working, worshipping, doing everything men do, black and white, as equals. How different two years ago, when we were mobbed for attempting to recruit the 1st Regiment S. C. Vols. at Hilton Head!

Correspondence of the Boston Christian Register.

All along our line of march, and from the neighboring plantations miles back from the road, the whole negro population flocked to the army—men, women and children, hundreds and thousands of poor creatures, jubilant at the prospect of deliverance; darkies, older than Methuselah, and babies at the breast; hideous old crones and comely wenches, of every shade of black and yellow; and stout, likely "boys," worth their thousands in good greenbacks. Day after day the motley crowd increased, stringing along beside the troops and train from one end of the column to the other. Most of them were on foot; women trudging along mile after mile with babies in their arms and little creatures that could hardly toddle hanging to their skirts. But some were mounted on old horses and mules; and sometimes a whole family would be packed away in a lumbering old cart drawn by oxen. Many were half naked, while many more were dressed in tattered finery and flounces, pillaged from the abandoned treasures of their former owners. Few of the poor creatures knew where they were going to, or what was to become of them. When questioned, all that they could answer was, that they "were going 'long with the army." The able-bodied men were gladly received, as they could be made useful to the army, and thousands of them are now employed as teamsters, servants and laborers; but the women and children were only an encumbrance, and, under the circumstances, could not be provided for in any way. The exodus, as far as possible, was discouraged, but they would receive no advice. A great many of them are still near the troops at the rear—what they live on God knows, for the troops are on very short rations and can spare nothing for the negroes—but a large proportion, after keeping along for a few days, broke down in the vain attempt to keep pace with the army, and are left behind, scattered along the roads and through the swamps and forests.

Correspondence of the Philadelphia Press.

SAVANNAH, Ga., Dec. 31, 1864.

No pen has yet adequately described the scenes of the great march through Georgia. I can only give you a few suggestive instances told me by eye witnesses. Hundreds of negroes followed the army, tired and foot-sore, little children as well as gray-haired men, from Atlanta down to Savannah. On the march they were joined by thousands, some of whom came into camp singing. Prayer-meetings were held at the stopping-places, and there the soldiers gathered round to hear them praying with souls in tears and voices in frenzy for the great Yankee army. The poor contrabands were told that the Yankees would burn, roast, boil and slaughter them, and were instructed to hide when our forces should come—but all to no avail. This simple but shrewd people knew their friends afar off, and came pouring in from all quarters, bringing information with them. At night mirth and festivity reigned in the camp. The contrabands assembled around the fires, and made a minstrelsy such as we have never heard in the North. Every soldier who had a violin brought it out for the contrabands to dance by, and while a few patted their knees, the rest went tearing away like mad in the plantation jig and walk-around. Every man, woman and child, poor, down-trodden things as they were, regularly made their sixteen miles a day, living upon the charity of the good-hearted soldiers, and sometimes upon the refuse of the camp. It was impossible to misconstrue their joy at the sight of the army. I have talked with many of the new freedmen, and words are poor to convey the character of their gratitude and admiration toward the soldiers. The march was full of humors. "Never had better living in my life," remarked a private soldier to me. Turkeys, chickens and fowls of every kind were gobbled up from every quarter; honey was in abundance, and it was not uncommon to see soldiers bearing off the combs, while swarms of bees followed and stung them. There were many swollen lips which confessed to a just punishment from the little tyrant of the cell. At several places on the march money was dug up, and it is said that a private soldier has become the possessor by discovery of something like $10,000. Little escaped the search of the bayonets, and even valuables hidden under the furrows were brought to light. "*Breeding* plantations," which to name is enough, were among the curiosities and horrors of slavery which the army encountered. Nearing Savannah, the army gained a large accession of slaves, who had fled from cruel masters, and one of the most cruel of these masters was a fellow named Hines, who "larruped his niggers" after pattern of Legree.

Correspondence of the Milwaukee Wisconsin.

Every town and plantation by which we passed was depopulated of negroes, who came to us in crowds, bringing women and children, and the maimed and blind, old and young; the octogenarian and the suckling babe, swelled our ranks. It was amusing to see the motley character of this black cloud. Some were in carts drawn by oxen or mules, others in master's best buggy; some on donkeys and mules, or horses; many on the old cast-off train mules, which they had picked up on the way; whilst the largest portion were on foot, packing feather beds, heavy iron pots and kettles, or old deal-boxes, containing the accumulations of their lives. Even old split-bottomed chairs were loaded on the backs of some; and all the rubbish of a negro's quarter was to be encountered. One cart, drawn by a pair of lean, broken-down oxen, contained no less than nineteen pickaninnies; the oldest of these was not over three years, and about them were packed everything to be found in a plantation negro's cabin. The anxious mothers walked in procession on each side of the cart, endeavoring to hush the squallings of the brood.

BRAVERY OF THOMAS'S NEGRO TROOPS.

A correspondent of the New York *Times*, who was with Gen. Thomas's army in the late battles below Nashville, gives the following account of the gallant behavior of the colored troops:

"I watched the colored troops with a good deal of interest. In company with Capt. Boyd of Gen. Miller's staff and Lieut. Burroughs of Gen. Thomas's staff, I went up close enough to see the whites of their eyes. As I have stated in my description of the battle, they sustained three temporary repulses. Little Col. Thompson, a favorite with all, commanding one of the colored brigades, rode along the line after the third check, and said to his men: 'Boys, you must take that hill this time.' It was Overton Hill, the most difficult and dangerous to assault of any eminence that was carried, and four brass howitzers (Stanfield's battery) were pouring a most destructive fire into our ranks. Word came from Steedman to take the hill. The colored men were sandwiched between the brigades of white troops, and the column dashed up the hill with a most awful yell. The roar of musketry commenced, and lasted about twelve minutes, and over into the works go the whole command, the colored troops getting inside first. After the hill was taken, the white troops halted, but the colored men went in pursuit, driving the enemy four miles, and capturing three hundred prisoners. Capt. Boyd and myself rode up into the works, half a minute after they fell, and while the guns were hot. Every one was talking of the charge, and praising the 'niggers' in the same breath. Ten minutes after the capture of the hill, whites and blacks were running around together, gathering up the spoils. I'm glad I saw that fight. I'm a living witness of the black man's valor. Three hundred of the poor fellows kissed the earth during the charge, while eighteen of their officers were killed and wounded. All the prisoners captured by the colored troops were sent to the rear under the escort of colored soldiers. Two thousand of the negroes in this fight were born and raised in the vicinity of the battle.

"It was growing dark when Capt. Boyd and myself left the front for Nashville. When within a few hundred yards of Overton Hill, we saw a colored soldier walking along the road. I thought he was drunk. On coming up to him, we discovered that he was wounded. How do you suppose he was wounded? First, he was shot right through the body; a second bullet had taken four fingers from his left hand. He was also shot in the leg, arm and shoulder. These bullets all hit him at the same time. And yet he was trying to walk, Boyd halted an ambulance and had him put into it."

THE PAY OF THE COLORED SOLDIER.

Washington Correspondence Boston Daily Advertiser.

I am persuaded that, however well the nation appears in history with respect to most questions that have arisen during the war, its record upon the simple question of paying its negro soldiers will never be referred to with pride by any one who is either just or generous. It would seem that when we had once decided to take negroes into the army, and put upon them the full duties of soldiers, there could be no question at all as to the pay they should receive. "If they do the same work that white men do, why, pay them the same price you pay white men, of "course," says every honorable man out of Congress. So long as they were required to perform only camp or hospital duties, the question of compensation might, with propriety, be raised. Yet, the best that could be done at the first session of this 38th Congress, was to take shelter and hope under the miserable delusion of that 19th of April provision. It took weeks of weary debate and heart-hurting endeavor to even get so little as that. It meted out to-day justice to the 54th and 55th Massachusetts Regiments, in the main, but accomplished nothing for the various regiments and parts of regiments raised in the South and the border States. It is worth while to remember that so wise and clear-headed a man as Mr. Secretary Fessenden was the strongest man in the opposition in the Senate on this whole question.

The question under this statute which was referred by the President to the Attorney-General only touched the pay of negro soldiers who were free men on the 19th of April, 1861, and were mustered into service between December, 1862, and January, 1864, at which latter date the law giving all soldiers the same pay, bounty and allowance, took effect. Lastly, why that date of "December, 1862," was fixed upon by the President is not known—probably because the question of compensation was first raised in respect to troops none of whom were mustered into service before that time. The *Advertiser* has already published in full the clear, direct, forcible and noble opinion from the Attorney-General's office—written, as I have good reason for believing, by Mr. Assistant Attorney-General Ashton, and doing credit no less to his heart as a man than to his knowledge as a lawyer. The opinion confined itself strictly in text to the question submitted by the President, and so, of course, resolved only half the difficulty; for the pay of negro soldiers who were free men on that 19th of April, but were not mustered into service after that December, 1862, was left in abeyance. The War Department promptly issued orders embodying the opinion of the Attorney-General, and directing action in compliance therewith. Paymasters on the coast and in Grant's army handed over to the soldiers the back money due them. Of course there was instant trouble about those who were mustered prior to December, 1862, not many in number, but deserving consideration. Many letters at once came here in regard to the matter. It was a question for the President to lay before the Attorney-General; but the spirit of his opinion was so evident that Mr. Stanton took the matter into his own hands and cut the Gordian knot by directing that it should apply to all negro soldiers who were free men on the 19th of April, 1861, without regard to the time of muster into service.

There yet remains the question of compensation to those who were not free men prior to that date. Shall it be charged against them as a fault or a crime, because they were not free before that time? That is what the nation does so long as it rests content with the present law. The House has already passed a bill giving back pay to this class. It is before the Senate Military Committee, which will report favorably upon it. Mr. Representative Cox sneeringly remarked, when the bill was before the House, that he would not approve it, for he was willing there should be perfect equality among the negroes. Some men never can do a just act except in a mean way. It would seem that the opposition in the Senate could at least let the bill pass as ungraciously as Mr. Cox did, but it is likely to find several serious constitutional objections thereto.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN TENNESSEE.—A Union State Convention, composed of nearly three hundred delegates, assembled at Nashville on Saturday last, and unanimously adopted a resolution declaring slavery forever abolished, and prohibiting it throughout the State. The Convention also passed a resolution prohibiting the Legislature from recognizing property in man, and forbidding it from requiring compensation to be made to the owners of slaves. These propositions, with others, are to be submitted to the people for ratification on the 22d of February, and on the 4th of March an election is to be held for Governor and members of the Legislature. Parson Brownlow was nominated for Governor by acclamation. Thus the work of emancipation goes on!

BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE for December (L. Scott & Co.'s American Edition, 38 Walker st.) contains the following articles: A Visit to the Cities and Camps of the Confederate States, 1863-64, Part I.; Tony Butler, Part XV.; The Public Schools Report—Winchester and Shrewsbury; My Latest Vacation Excursion, Part II.; Aunt Ann's Ghost Story; Cornelius O'Dowd upon Men and Women, etc., Part XI.

THE CHRISTIAN EXAMINER for January discusses subjects of living interest in a manner adapted to fix the attention and stimulate the intellectual convictions and moral sentiments of its readers. We give the titles of the several articles: I. The Order of Saint Paul the Apostle, and the New Catholic Church; II. The Unity of the Spirit; III. Saint Francis of Assisi; IV. Under the Ban; V. The Last Phase of Atheism; VI. Hawthorne; VII. The Eighth of November; VIII. Review of Current Literature. The *Examiner* (the leading organ of Liberal Theology in this country) is published once in two months at $5 per annum; single numbers $1. Its articles are usually written by the ablest and ripest scholars in the country. Its Review of Current Literature is one of its most valuable features, especially for those who, unable to read all the new books that come from the press, would yet know something of their spirit, purpose and value.

THE BLACK LAWS OF ILLINOIS will probably be repealed by the time that this sheet is in the hands of the reader. A bill for the purpose was introduced in the Legislature some days since, and will be passed as soon as the rules will allow. It is a significant fact, however, that a resolution reaffirming the infamous code was introduced by a Democrat from Logan Co., and on being put to the House, received the vote of every Democratic member. Most of the Democrats seem determined to bury themselves, past resurrection, under the ruins of slavery.

THE PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS during the past week are comparatively unimportant, and as our columns are more crowded than usual, we omit the usual record thereof. The further consideration of the Constitutional Amendment has been postponed till Tuesday, Jan. 31, when, it is understood, the question will be taken.

REV. J. SELLA MARTIN will deliver the second lecture in the course instituted by the "Social, Civil and Statistical Society of the Colored People of Pennsylvania," on Wednesday-evening next. Subject: "The Friends of the Union in England."

## Summary.

PROGRESS.—The Missouri Legislature has passed a bill authorizing the Board of Public Schools to provide for the education of colored children of St. Louis, the old law forbidding the same.

At Silver City, Nevada, on election day, the Union men nailed a Rebel flag upon the sidewalk in front of the polls, that every voter might trample it under foot, while the Star-spangled Banner was flying overhead.

MRS. PARTINGTON must look to her laurels, or she will be eclipsed by some of the contrabands at the South, one of whom recently told an army officer that his master's horse had been "sophisticated" and put in front of an "avalanche."

VINELAND, N. J.—Boston physicians, so we are told, are sending their consumptive patients to Vineland. Rev. Mr. Bugbee, of Ashby, has gone there to reside this Winter, at the recommendation of Dr. Bowditch.

The government is doing much for the cause of woman. We have post-mistresses, female employees in various departments, female officers in the army, etc., etc. Dr. Mary E. Walker was for months a prisoner in Richmond, and has since received a commission as full surgeon in the U. S. A.

Some years ago there was a bill introduced in the Georgia Legislature to lay a tax of ten dollars a year on all jackasses. Some appreciative member proposed to amend it so as to include lawyers and doctors. The amendment was accepted, and, amidst much jocularity, the bill passed. Several efforts have since been made to repeal it, but in vain, and to this day all jackasses, lawyers, and doctors are obliged to pay a yearly tax of ten dollars.

"Dr Harriot K. Hunt has issued her twelfth annual protest against taxation without suffrage. The natural right of woman to be man is as clear as the right of a hen to crow—there's no use arguing the case."—*Springfield Republican.*

The natural right of an editor, who has the necessary qualifications, to make a donkey of himself, is as clear as any other right—there's no use arguing the case.

—*Cor. Liberator.* SPRINGFIELD.

ILLINOIS BLACK LAWS.—A few days since, the Circuit Court of Macoupin County, Ill., had before it for trial, Maj.-General John M. Palmer, on a charge of violating the laws of Illinois by bringing a negro into it. It seems that the negro went there, afterward enlisted in the army as a substitute for $800, which he invested in U. S. Bonds. The General was acquitted.

A steady stream of emigrants from sister States, particularly Pennsylvania, is pouring into Maryland, now that "free labor" has become a settled fact. In every county of the State large sales of land have taken place during the past two months, and the purchasers are men who intend to settle, and who do not purchase for the sake of speculation.

ANTI-SLAVERY FEELING IN CUBA.—Gen. Griquouria has presented to the President a copy of a letter received by him from Cuba, detailing the progress of the anti-slavery feeling in that island. It is stated that the native Cubans are nearly unanimous in favor of gradual emancipation, while the Spaniards and slave-traders are opposed to it. The question is causing considerable agitation and excitement in the island; but the abolition sentiment is steadily gaining ground.—*Wash. Cor. Herald.*

A CONTRAST.—On the very day that the Constitutional Convention of Missouri adopted the Ordinance of Immediate Emancipation, Governor Parker, of New Jersey, the only Democratic Governor outside the Rebel lines, was telling the Legislature of that State, that "the great obstacle in the way of peace is the determination of the Administration (not the government, mind you) to insist on the abandonment of slavery." Without discussing the "wrong of slavery, he is opposed to prolonging the war for its forcible abolition. Emancipation, to be a blessing, should be gradual, and with the consent of the people among whom slavery exists." Unfortunate New Jersey!

WENDELL PHILLIPS said, in his lecture at Cooper Institute, Dec. 27: "When the Court of St James looks down into the poor man's cradle, it interferes in his behalf, if it interferes at all, from a motive of Christian principles. But when Wall street and State street and Chestnut street look down into the poor man's cradle, they remember that that tiny hand holds a ballot; they remember that, unless it shall be taught to wield its power with judgment, the nation will feel it in the future to its cost. And the wealth, the strength, the education of thirty millions of people are mortgaged to cover that cradle with the choicest influence of civilization."

STATE STATISTICS.—The debts of the States of Maine, Massachusetts, Illinois and Michigan, as stated in the annual messages of the governors, are as follows: Maine, $5,337,000; Massachusetts, $22,893,000; Illinois, $11,178,000; Michigan, $3,541,000. The same States have furnished the following numbers of troops to the army since the outbreak of the rebellion: Maine 61,000—one-tenth of her whole population; Massachusetts, 153,486; Illinois, 197,269; Michigan, 80,000.

A QUESTION SETTLED.—When the Diplomatic Appropriation bill came up in the Senate lately, Senator Wade moved to amend the clause making appropriations "for diplomatic and consular expenses in Mexico," by inserting before the word "Mexico" the words "the republic of." He said there were two governments in Mexico, and we could recognize none but the "Republic." We had nothing to do with the "Empire." The amendment of Mr. Wade was adopted. The Consular Appropriation bill was then passed.—*Eve. Post.*

JAMES BROOKS'S OLIVE-BRANCH.—During the debate in the House, the other day, on the Constitutional Amendment, Mr. James Brooks professed his great anxiety to go to Richmond "with the olive-branch in his hand," but lamented his inability to do so, because the government would not give him a pass. While he was speaking, a wicked wag of a member was writing, with the following result:

"Brooks mourns because he cannot get '*a pass*,'
Since 'to make peace' is deeply his concern;
We'd send him South with pleasure, but, alas!
'Tis feared he'd claim permission *to return*."

—*Wash. Cor. Commonwealth.*

COTTON PLANTING.—The Mississippi cotton plantations have not been saved from guerilla operations during the past season. Several have been plundered, and the negroes killed or carried off. This season the planters propose to protect themselves. They have, by consent of the military, organized an association in the vicinity of Vicksburg, which has leased some 250,000 acres, and is authorized to raise a sufficient military force to defend the plantations from guerilla attacks. The association will establish block-houses, and a defensive line in their rear, and expect to raise some $30,000,000 worth of cotton this season.—*Washington Chronicle.*

MARYLAND.—Although the Union party carried the lower house of the Maryland Legislature and elected their Governor, at the late State election, the apportionment of Senators enabled the Democrats to obtain a majority of one in the Senate. In this condition of things Mr. Holland, Democratic Senator elect from Dorchester county, resigned on account of ill health, and a special election has just taken place to fill the vacancy, which has resulted in the choice of Dr. Carroll, the Union candidate, by a majority of 225 votes. This change relieves the new government of the State of what might have caused serious embarrassment in maturing the legislation necessary to the success of the new *regime* of freedom in Maryland.

THE COLORADO INDIAN MASSACRE.—There is reason to believe that the Chivington massacre in Colorado will lead to a most thorough investigation of the condition and treatment of the Indians along the whole frontier. The debate upon this subject in the Senate is significant of startling developments, exposing the plots of unprincipled adventurers in the Indian country for the promotion of their own selfish schemes, and collusion on the part of responsible men connected with the overland routes and in the confidence of the government, with hostile Indians, in order to give plausibility to false returns of property lost, and to afford excuses for non-fulfillment of contracts. It is alleged that the Indians are incited to hostility purposely, and prompt legislation is demanded for their better protection and the prevention of enormous swindles upon the government.—*Wash. Cor. Herald.*

REMOVAL OF FRIENDS FROM NORTH CAROLINA.—The disadvantages experienced by Friends in North Carolina, from residing in the midst of the deleterious influences of slavery, induced many to leave that State long before the rebellion took place. Since that time, other strong motives have arisen for removal, and we are informed that, for several months past, a number of families Friends from North Carolina, some of them in destitute circumstances, have been passing through Baltimore on their way to Western States. Friends in that city, learning that this emigration is likely to continue, have organized "Friends' Association of Baltimore to advise and assist Friend from the Southern States." Arrangements will be made in Norfolk and Portsmouth to facilitate the passage of families through those cities. The object of this Association is truly beneficent, and being in efficient hands, we heartily commend it to the liberality of Friends in other places. The expense attending its operation will probably not be small, and should not be borne by Baltimore Friends alone. The editor of the *Review* gladly volunteers to transmit any sums of money which may be sent to his care.—*Phil. Friends' Review.*

## Special Notices.


INTERESTING COURSE OF LECTURES
TO SUIT THE TIMES,
AT CONCERT HALL, PHILA.
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE
SOCIAL, CIVIL, AND STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION,
OF THE COLORED PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA,

Viewing the great changes going on with regard to their race, feel deeply impressed that rare opportunities at the present time present themselves for accomplishing a very great amount of good, by a course of lectures in this city from able advocates (white and colored) of equal rights and universal freedom.

As oppression has ground down the slave of the South, so likewise does prejudice and proscription weigh heavily upon the free colored man of the North; therefore, whatever tends to remove these evils aids in elevating the race; hence, with the hope of removing prejudice in a measure, by properly enlightening the public mind, these lectures have been gotten up.

The speakers engaged for the course are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| WM. LLOYD GARRISON, | J. M. LANGSTON, Esq., |
| REV. SELLA MARTIN, | FREDERICK DOUGLASS, |
| F. E. WATKINS HARPER, | HON. WM. D. KELLEY. |

Of the ability of the speakers, and their deep interest in the cause, it is needless to speak. The Committee hope the well-known reputation of the speakers, and the good cause for which they are to speak, will ensure the fullest success of their efforts.

The proceeds to go to aid in procuring the rights of colored people on the city passenger railways, or to aid the freedmen, or sick and wounded soldiers.


## Advertisements.


NEW MUSIC.—"Do They Remember Me?" Song and Chorus; by W. O. Fiske. "Song of the Sailor-Boy." Ballad; C. H. Rodwell. "Give this to Mother." Ballad, and "The Pure, the Bright, the Beautiful." Song and Chorus; by Stephen C. Foster. "Let Me Die with My Face to the Foe"; "Beautiful Anne," and "Moonlight and Starlight." Songs with Choruses, all by James G. Clark. "God Save Our Noble Union." Song and Chorus; by Martin. "No Slave Beneath that Starry Flag"; "Our Dear New England Boys," and "There's Rest for all in Heaven" Songs with Choruses; by Mrs. E. A. Parkhurst. "Maryland's Free." Song and Chorus; by M. A. Fortune. Price 30 cents each, or the lot for $3, mailed free.

The above songs are all excellent.

37-3t HORACE WATERS, Publisher, 481 Broadway, N. Y.

PENNSYLVANIA HALL ASSOCIATION.—By resolution of the Board of Managers, a FINAL DIVIDEND of One Dollar and a Half per share will be paid upon PRESENTATION AND SURRENDER OF CERTIFICATE OF STOCK to Eli Dillin, Treasurer, corner of Ridge Avenue and Green street, between 8 and 10 o'clock in the morning.

N. B. Need not apply without Certificate of Stock. 37-1t.

FINKLE & LYON'S SEWING MACHINES

The greatest improvement yet in the Sewing Machine art. A curiosity worth seeing.

Please send for circular with sample of sewing.

These improved Machines save ONE HUNDRED PER CENT. of thread and silk, and make the LOCK STITCH alike on both sides.

They require no instruction to operate perfectly, except the "printed directions."

No change in sewing from one kind of goods to another.

And no taking apart to clean or oil.

Our NEW MANUFACTORY is now complete, with all its machinery and tools entirely new, and is already rapidly turning out Machines which for BEAUTY and PERFECTION of FINISH are not surpassed by any manufacture in the world.

N.B.—Should any Machine prove unsatisfactory, it can be returned and money refunded.

Agents wanted in counties not canvassed by our own agents.

FINKLE & LYON S. M. CO.,
No. 538 Broadway, New York.

DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICAL
PINEAPPLE CIDER
IS A PREVENTIVE OF SICKNESS.

The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years, convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes,

OLD AND YOUNG.

It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

SAVE MILLIONS

from being sick. Is it not better to pay three dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctor's bills, and as much more for the loss of time, and inconvenience of being sick?

To prevent sickness, use as follows:

Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night.

It will increase the strength, and give

VIGOR AND ACTION

to the system.

A celebrated New York Merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he has gained ten Pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it proved an entire

PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

THIS WONDERFUL PREPARATION

will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, etc., etc.—its soothing and quieting effect on the system is most astonishing.

Dr. Wilcox, an eminent physician, employed it with great success in treating Fevers, Dyspepsia, Nervous Affections, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, Palpitation of the Heart, Chronic Diarrhœa, Colic Dysentery, and Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels. It is also particularly recommended by physicians to delicate females, and as an excellent remedy for Enfeebled Digestion, Want of Appetite, Scrofula, Nephritic Affections, Rheumatism, etc., etc. It never fails to relieve Nervous Tremor, Wakefulness, Disturbed Sleep, etc. American Ladies have used this article with great success to heighten their color and beauty.

It imparts cheerfulness to the disposition, and brilliancy to the complexion.

To Travellers, especially, it is of inestimable value, and should be provided as a medicine for every journey in which the water is likely to vary in quality and tendency.

Persons residing in any part of the country may adopt it with the utmost confidence as a timely, efficacious restorative.

PRICES:

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| THREE DOLLARS PER BOTTLE | | (FULL QUART). |
| TWO DOLLARS | " | (FULL PINT). |
| ONE DOLLAR | " | (FULL HALF-PINT). |

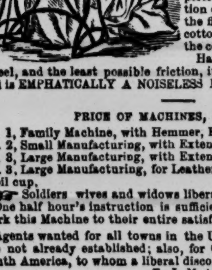
1 Quart bottle, 2 Pint bottles, or 4 Half-pint bottles sent free by express on receipt of price. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

B. T. BABBITT, Sole Agent, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72 and 74 Washington st., N. Y. 29-6mo.

GREAT IMPROVEMENT IN SEWING MACHINES.

EMPIRE SHUTTLE MACHINE!

SALESROOM, 536 BROADWAY.



This Machine is constructed on entirely new principles of mechanism, possessing many rare and valuable improvements, having been examined by the most profound experts, and pronounced to be SIMPLICITY and PERFECTION COMBINED.

It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the Lock or Shuttle Stitch, which will neither rip nor ravel, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number. Having neither cam nor cog-wheel, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

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|---|---|
| No. 1, Family Machine, with Hemmer, Feller and Braider, | $60 |
| No. 2, Small Manufacturing, with Extension Table, | $75 |
| No. 3, Large Manufacturing, with Extension Table, | $85 |
| No. 3, Large Manufacturing, for Leather, with rolling foot and oil cup, | $100 |

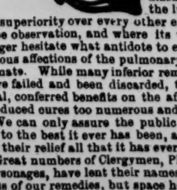
☞ Soldiers wives and widows liberally dealt with.

One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction!

Agents wanted for all towns in the United States, where agents are not already established; also, for Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America, to whom a liberal discount will be given.

T. J. McARTHUR & CO.,
No. 536 Broadway, New York

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL;




FOR THE RAPID CURE OF

Coughs, Colds, Influenza, Hoarseness, Croup, Bronchitis, Incipient Consumption, and for the relief of Consumptive Patients in advanced stages of the disease.

So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous are the cases of its cures, that almost every section of country abounds in persons, publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs by its use. When once tried, its superiority over every other expectorant is too apparent to escape observation, and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs that are incident to our climate. While many inferior remedies thrust upon the community have failed and been discarded, this has gained friends by every trial, conferred benefits on the afflicted they can never forget, and produced cures too numerous and too remarkable to be forgotten.

We can only assure the public that its quality is carefully kept up to the best it ever has been, and that it may be relied on to do for their relief all that it has ever done.

Great numbers of Clergymen, Physicians, Statesmen, and eminent personages, have lent their names to certify the unparalleled usefulness of our remedies, but space here will not permit the insertion of them. The Agents below named furnish gratis our AMERICAN ALMANAC, in which they are given; with also full descriptions of the complaints they cure.

Those who require an *alterative medicine* to purify the blood will find AYER'S COMP. EXT. SARSAPARILLA the remedy to use. Try it once, and you will know its value.

Prepared by J. C. AYER & Co., Lowell, Mass., and sold by all Druggists and Dealers in medicines everywhere. 29-2mo.

KISSINGEN, VICHY,
AND ALL OTHER
MEDICINAL MEDICAL WATERS,
HANBURY SMITH, M.D.,
808 Broadway, New York.

FRIENDS' FAMILY AND POCKET ALMANAC FOR 1865 Price 10 cents, or one dollar per dozen. Sent by mail for 10 cents, free of postage. Published by

34—3t. T. E. CHAPMAN, No. 5 South Fifth st., Phila.

# Miscellaneous Department.

## MARYLAND REDEEMED.

Hurrah! hurrah! let joyous shouts resound with deafening peal,
Till hills and rocks shall echo back the joy they too must feel.
Hurrah! hurrah! the mountain winds are calling to the sea,
Hurrah! hurrah! chimes ocean's roar, "for Maryland is free!"

How anxiously we listened for the sovereign people's voice,
While doubtful murmurs filled the air, we did not dare rejoice:
But louder, clearer comes the cry, bid trembling, doubting flee,
For hark! it tells like silver bells, "Our Maryland is free!"

Down Alleghany's mountain heights, up from her deepest mines,
From every dashing rivulet within the County lines;
From Washington's green lovely hills, and eke the flowery lea,
A mighty shout comes pealing out, "Let Maryland be free!"

The fertile farms of Frederick in noble chorus join
With Baltimore and Cecil too, and little Caroline;
And with them in the City ten thousand men agree,
Let Rebels fight with rage and spite, Our Maryland is free!

For many armed citizens, when dreadful carnage stayed,
Still thought upon their native State, and the curse that on her laid.
And hands that many a bullet sped against the Rebel Lee
The ballots gave that loosed the slave, and Maryland made free!

The air is fresher that we breathe, it brings no bondsman's sigh—
*Ourselves* are freed from haughty sway, that ruled in days gone by.
One stripe is purer on the flag, one star more brilliant see;
On far ship-mast they tell the blast that Maryland is free!

O, free and loyal sister States, again we clasp your hand,
With deeper love, with strengthened ties, together now we stand.
And you, ye erring ones, O! hear a sister's warning plea,
Repent, return, and wisdom learn, for Maryland is free!

Let joyful praise from thankful hearts, to God our Father rise,
That bonds have fallen from the slave, the scales from off our eyes.
Pray Peace and *Union*, Truth and Right, may soon in love agree,
And millions say, "We bless the day, that Maryland made free!"

Oriole.

## *EMANCIPATION CELEBRATION AT MEMPHIS.*

From the Memphis Bulletin, Jan 3.

Memphis didn't belong to white folks yesterday; they were of no account; the colored population had everything their own way, and celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation of Father Abraham on a grand scale. At one time, in the morning, Main street was theirs from one end to the other, to the exclusion of vehicles, and the entire blockade of the sidewalks and crossings. It looked as if all Africa had been turned loose, and taken permanent possession of this goodly city. All ages and sexes were there, and every shade, from the octoroon to the deepest dyed negro that ever plied a hoe, or shuffled through a plantation break-down. It was a grotesque scene, and yet full of interest, in comparison with the past. It was strongly suggestive of the future.

This mass of men, women and picaninnies, in garbs of more variety of colors than made the coat of Joseph historical, and styles of the past half century, formed in procession at the corner of Main and Vance streets at 10 o'clock in the morning, under the direction as Grand Marshal of Washington Brown, assisted by Marshals Columbus Pope, Guy Chester, and William Armour, and moved in the following order:

Grand Marshal.
Band.
Colored Schools.
A B C Class.
Written Arithmetic Class.
Mr. Stuart's Class.
Printing Press on a wagon, with Negroes setting Type and printing copies of the Emancipation Proclamation for Distribution.
Shoemakers, Carpenters, Blacksmiths, Whitewashers, Bricklayers, Sewing Machine Operators, and Barbers on wagons, plying their respective occupations.
Sons and Daughters of Ham.
Odd Fellows' Benevolent Society.
Draymen with Drays.
Hackmen with Hacks.
Wood Carts and Sawyers.
The Colored Population generally.

The route of procession was through Union, Third, Madison, Main and Market streets to the Pleasure Gardens. All along the line the crowd of spectators of all colors and ages was very dense. The banners bore suggestive inscriptions, most of which we give:

America, the Home of the Brave and the Free.
Hurrah for General Grant.
The Freedmen of Memphis greet the Freedmen of Savannah.
Hurrah for General Dana.
Jeff. Davis, the great Abolitionist.
Liberty or Death.
1863
The Year of Jubilee.
Ole Massa's Done Gone and Left Us.
Toil and Success.
Willing to Work.
Twenty Schools—One Thousand Scholars Free and Equal.
All Nations of One Blood.
God Bless our Northern Teachers.
Proclaim Liberty Throughout the World.
The General Superintendent of Freedmen.
Our Rights Protected.
Fourth Reader.
Only Our Rights.
Liberty, Education, and the Right of Suffrage.
Jeff. Davis's Apple Tree.
We can Work, or We can Fight.
Hurrah for Gen. Thomas.
Sons of Ham, Organized 1859.
God bless the Emancipators.
They Rebelled against Right.
Two years of Liberty—We are Marching on.
No Compromise.
Down with the Traitor.
Hurrah for General Sherman.

Many of the inscriptions were strikingly illustrated. "Cotton Dethroned" was represented by a negro seated on a bale of cotton, in a wagon, bearing the inscription. An apple tree in a waggon was suggestive of the fate of Jeff. Davis, as the song goes. Every industrial pursuit was represented, and many of the trades were being carried on on a small scale in wagons as the procession moved through the city. One vehicle carried a school, the scholars busily engaged with books, slates and pencils; another contained a printing office; another represented a sewing machine establishment; a shoemaker plied his trade vigorously, and a barber carried on the lather and shave operations at a great rate, while here and there through the procession mechanics of every trade, whitewashers, laundresses, porters, waiters, and "hewers of wood and carriers of water" made mimic display of their respective vocations, using the various tools connected therewith.

Large as was the procession—occupying two hours in passing one point—excellent order was maintained. One Hibernian gentleman, well known about town from the grotesqueness of his dress, carrying about him medals and ribbons sufficient to bedeck the most honored of the field marshals of France, and for his disposition to enlighten the public at street corners with strange harangues, interspersed with fearful whirlings through his fingers of a shillalah, and mournful tones from a battered accordeon, took exception to the demonstration of his colored brethren, and damned "Old Abe and the niggers" in a manner that would have secured for any one not a lunatic an unpleasant abiding place in Irving Block. Four colored men took him quietly in hand, and by nothing more than moral suasion, induced him to reverse his anathemas. He took the head of the procession, and brandished his shillalah, while he cheered lustily for those whom he had just damned. At the Pleasure Gardens a few unruly boys sought to make a disturbance by throwing stones, but were soon quieted.

The procession having reached the pleasure grounds, Col. John Eaton, Jr., General Superintendent of the Freedmen, being present, was called to the stand, and in a few happy remarks, suggested by the occasion, opened the exercises: First, a song in which all participated; then prayer by Rev. W. Wolford, Presiding Elder A. M. E. Church, followed by speeches from Lieut.-Col. L. B. Eaton, Superintendent of Freedmen, Department of Arkansas, Col. Samuel Thomas, Assistant General Superintendent and Provost-Marshal of Freedmen, Capt. T. A. Walker, Superintendent of Freedmen District of West Tennessee, Brig.-Gen. Chetlain and Rev. L. H. Cobb, Superintendent of Memphis colored schools. Speeches were also made by colored men, prominent among whom were Guy Moody and Morrison Henderson.

The exercises were varied by singing of hymns and patriotic songs. On the whole it was the greatest jubilee of colored people ever held in any State North or South.

At the close, a sprightly looking little negro of six or seven years came upon the stand, and recited some verses, touchingly alluding to the change in his condition—from slavery to freedom.

This celebration is suggestive. It was planned and executed by the blacks themselves, and sprung entirely from their own feelings of the propriety of celebrating a day which has become to them as sacred as any in the calender of any people. In this instance it has been a great success; no disturbance occurred to mar the harmony of the occasion. Procuring the approval of the military authorities, the Freedmen went quietly to work, and have had a celebration worthy the notice of all.

"We live in a progressive age."

The man who looked at the demonstration yesterday to ascertain the sentiments of the freedmen, their estimate of the value of the boon of emancipation, their law-abiding character, their loyalty to the Union, their wish to educate their children, their profound gratitude to God, saw more than laughable or absurd incidents. He saw a race rising from ignorant, imbruted chattelism to manhood. He saw them, not delirious with their newly enjoyed freedom, not thirsting for revenge for real or fancied wrongs, not dreaming of living in idleness, but with prayers to God, hymns of gladness, cheers for Lincoln, expressions of intense regard for Union soldiers, and thankful contrast of past sorrows with present happiness, exhorting each other to manful lives and honest labor.

## *IRA ALDRIDGE.*

[Bayard Taylor, in a contribution to the January *Atlantic*, gives the following account of the famous colored actor, Ira Aldridge, as he saw him at Nijni Novgorod, in Russia:]

By the time night had fallen, Monsieur D. suggested an immediate adjournment to the theatre. What should be the entertainment? Dances of *almehs*, songs of gypsies, or Chinese Jugglers? One of the Ivans brought a programme. It was not difficult to decipher the word "Makbeth," and to recognise, further, in the name of "Ira Aldridge," a distinguished mulatto tragedian, to whom Maryland has given birth (if I am rightly informed) and Europe fame. We had often heard of him, yea, seen his portrait in Germany, decorated with the orders conferred by half a dozen sovereigns; and his presence here, between Europe and Asia, was not the least characteristic feature of the fair. A mulatto *Macbeth*, in a Russian theatre, with a Persian and Tartar audience!

On arriving, we were ushered into two white-washed boxes, which had been reserved for our party. The manager, having been informed of the envoy's presence in Nijni-Novgorod, had delayed the performance half an hour, but the audience bore this infliction patiently. The building was deep and narrow, with space for about eight hundred persons, and was filled from top to bottom. The first act was drawing to a close as we entered. King Duncan, with two or three shabby attendants, stood in the court-yard of the castle—the latter represented by a handsome French door on the left, with a bit of Tartar wall beyond—and made his observations on the "pleasant seat" of *Macbeth's* mansion. He spoke Russian, of course. *Lady Macbeth* now appeared in a silk dress of the latest fashion, expanded by the amplest of crinolines. She was passably handsome, and nothing could be gentler than her face and voice. She received the royal party like a well-bred lady, and they all entered the French door together.

There was no change of scene. With slow step and folded arms, Ira Macbeth entered and commenced the soliloquy, "If it were done," etc., to our astonishment, in English! He was a dark, strongly-built mulatto, of about fifty, in a fancy tunic, and light stockings over Forrestian calves. His voice was deep and powerful, and it was very evident that Edmund Kean, once his master, was also the model which he carefully followed in the part. There were the same deliberate, over-distinct enunciation, the same prolonged pauses and gradually performed gestures, as I remember in imitations of Kean's manner. Except that the copy was a little too apparent, Mr. Aldridge's acting was really very fine. The Russians were enthusiastic in their applause, though very few of them, probably, understood the language of the part. The Oriental auditors were perfectly impassive, and it was impossible to guess how they regarded the performance.

The second act was in some respects the most amusing thing I ever saw upon the stage. In the dagger-scene, Ira was, to my mind, quite equal to Forrest; it was impossible to deny him unusual dramatic talent; but his complexion, continually suggesting Othello, quite confounded me. The amiable Russian *Lady Macbeth* was much better adapted to the part of *Desdemona*; all softness and gentleness, she smiled as she lifted her languishing eyes, and murmured in the tenderest accents, "Infirm of purpose! give me the dagger!" At least, I took it for granted that these were her words, for *Macbeth* had just said, "Look on 't again I dare not." Afterwards, six Russian soldiers, in tan-colored shirts, loose trousers and high boots, filed in, followed by *Macduff* and *Malcolm*, in the costume of Wallenstein's troopers. The dialogue—one voice English and all the others Russian—proceeded smoothly enough, but the effect was like nothing which our stage can produce. Nevertheless, the audience was delighted, and when the curtain fell there were vociferous cries of "*Aira! Aira! Aldreetch! Aldreetch!*" until the swarthy hero made his appearance before the footlights.

Monsieur D. conducted our friend P. into the green-room, where he was received by *Macbeth* in costume. He found the latter to be a dignified, imposing personage, who carried his tragic chest-tones into ordinary conversation. On being informed by P. that the American Minister was present, he asked:

"Of what persuasion?"

P. hastened to set him right, and Ira then remarked, in his gravest tone—"I shall have the honor of waiting upon him to-morrow morning," which, however, he failed to do.

This son of the South, no doubt, came legitimately (or, at least, naturally) by his dignity. His career, for a man of his blood and antecedents, has been wonderfully successful, and is justly due, I am convinced since I have seen him, to his histrionic talents. Both black and yellow skins are sufficiently rare in Europe to excite a particular interest in those who wear them; and I had surmised, up to this time, that much of his popularity might be owing to his color. But he certainly deserves an honorable place among the tragedians of the second rank.

## *THE BLACK FIREMEN OF SAVANNAH.*

*Savannah, Dec. 31st*.......To the novice in Savannah the most interesting, if not the most imposing ceremonies of the reviewing carnival, came off to-day. The city fire companies—all colored—according to previous arrangements, had the honor of doing the display for the last day of the year. After parading the streets for some time they were reviewed in due order by Generals Sherman and Geary.

It is impossible for pen to do this affair justice. A gala day of our Northern fire companies would give no more idea of this performance than a weasel would suggest to an elephant. The Fire King himself must have been terified when he first saw the fire companies of Savannah "out."

Think of it, ye unsophisticated men of the North, a whole Broadway full of immaculate blacks, in dress less uniform than Jacob's cattle, and ranging in size from the six-footer to the merest piccaninny, old women and young protecting the rear and flanks of the ebony column, all marching through the city and chanting some unearthly song, not a word of which is intelligible to the uninitiated. Now and then they halt, go through sundry evolutions, and then take hold of their ropes again and bedevil the next poor street. Their officers are distinguished by fantastic hats and coats, which were gotten up with sole reference to many colors. They give command *a la militaire*, saying "arch" instead of march, after the most approved style.

The engines are of the oldest pattern, and their book and ladder is the invention which proved such a failure at the conflagration of Sodom and Gomorrah. One company is composed exclusively of boys, whose juvenile voices chime with those of their progenitors like the scream of a piccolo with the sonorous notes of a dinner horn.

To say how many there are in the whole procession would simply be giving the number of the colored population of the city, which, I believe, is at present put down at from nine to ten thousand. And if there was one in all that dark concourse who didn't sing at the top of his, hers or its voice, your correspondent didn't notice the individual. It was only when they stopped to cheer our officers that the music (?) ceased. —*Cor. Phil. Inquirer.*

Women once Slaves in England.—We sometimes hear the term "white slavery" employed in allusion to the indubitably hard condition of the poor needle-women of to-day, but when the Virgin Queen ruled our land with a sceptre which, in this respect, was indeed a rod of iron, these words would have been no mere metaphor, but have simply described the real state of one section of our countrywomen, for English women could at that period, without having even incurred the suspicion of criminality, be, for a time at least, entirely deprived of freedom, and in the time of her predecessor could be actually and literally made slaves. The process was accomplished by means of the passing of an Act of Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, whereby unmarried women between the ages of twelve and forty, and even married women up to the age of thirty not having a visible livelihood, could be compelled by an order signed by two justices (Slender and Shallow might have formed the honorable pair) to go out to service in the country, to husbandry work, and in towns to certain specific trades, "chiefly spinning and weaving," and remain at their forced labor for a certain specified time, before the expiration of which they might neither go nor be sent away without the assent of a justice, under very severe penalties. Yet harsh as may seem this application of the press-gang principle to "unprotected females," as a means of supplying the exigencies of the labor market, it was mild and gentle compared to the Act of Edward the Sixth's reign, which had ordained that "if any man or woman able to work should refuse to do so, and continue to live idle for the space of three days, he or she should be branded with red-hot iron on the breast, and adjudged to be a slave for the space of two years"; and worst of all, especially in the case of women, a slave to the informer!—*Englishwomen's Journal.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

## THE DEATH OF THE JUDGE.

BY REV. GEORGE LANSING TAYLOR, M.A.

Hush! Tread in solemn reverence—Death is here;
That monarch at whose summons mightiest kings
Lay their imperial purple by, and leave
Their ivory thrones, and adamantine crowns,
And golden scepters, bidding earth farewell,
With all her pomp, to mingle with her dust.
That monarch now is nigh. His shadowy train
Fills yon high hall, and all that princely room,
Where the great judge, whose sentence nations heard,
Hears now a mightier sentence, and obeys.

Ah, in this hour of awe, when silence reigns,
When muttering priest is dumb, physician fled,
And faint and far earth's benison or ban
Falls on the dying ear, and scarce the stir,
The silken murmur, and the stifled wail,
Invade the palsied sense, what forms are these,
What visions of the past that throng the air,
And crowd from every opening vista in,
Till all the present fades, and other years
Roll back to life, and act their scenes once more?
As by some weird enchantment, strange and swift,
The sick room changes to a stately hall
Where Justice, o'er a nation's laws enthroned,
Sits in her majesty, dispensing doom,
And holds the scales whose dread libration rocks
The thrones of empires and the hopes of man.
High on their awful seats her sages sit,
In aspect venerable as the gods
Calm on their blue Olympus; and o'er all,
Sovereign as Jove, sits he who now lies here;
While Afric's tawny children, faint and torn,
With whip and hound and halter on their track,
From tears and blood and shame and agony,
And outrage worse than death, in terror flee,
And fling them weeping, suppliant, prostrate, here,
E'en at the holy of holies of the shrine
Of heaven-born Liberty, beneath the wings
Of her dread cherubim, and cry to God,
And claim Columbia's jury and her laws,
That guard the pirate's and the murderer's rights,
And shield the meanest thief whose guilt's unproved,
And lo, this man, sitting in God's high stead,
The judge and friend of man by place and oath,
Signed at his baptism with the Lord's dear cross,
Under the sun, God's all-beholding eye,
Up in the eyes and ears of earth and heaven,
Spurns from Columbia's altars these poor babes
With God's own image on them! Drives them back
To chains and anguish! Aye, and mocks them, too,
And mocks all men, and mocks God on his throne,
The Father of all men, decreeing loud
That he to whom God gave the swarthy skin
In his own sunny clime, or to his sires,
Has here no claim, no shelter, at the shrine
Of Freedom, o'er whose portal flames in gold
"All men created equal!"

Lo, what now
Looms on the dying mortal! All the hall,
Flooded with unknown day, expands and lifts
Outward and up, and fades, diaphanous,
Into the infinite deeps of glory, and lo,
Unutterable in distance, stature, light,
Looming divine, like that Ezekiel saw,
The throne that rose on Daniel's midnight dream,
On wheel-borne cherubs nearing, fills the sky!
The dread tribunal waits! The Judge Supreme,
Before whose bar the universe is dumb,
Descending sits, to try earth's kings and laws,
And judge her judges!—"Thou, on earth who daredst,
Sitting in mine own stead, a judge of men,
Revile mine image in the holy name
Of law and justice, children of my love,
For whom I died—more pierced in them by thee
Than in these wounds whose scars illumine heaven—
Know that when hungry, thirsty, naked, sick,
A stranger, and in prison, I sojourned
On earth, thou sought'st me not, but sealed'st my bonds,
And mad'st my anguish bitter. Nay, plead not
Thy costly offerings, damnable with blood,
For inasmuch as to the least of these
Thou did'st it not, thou did'st it not to me!"

But hark! What tumult fills the midnight wind!
It swells through all the air, and wakes the ear
E'en of the dying man, one moment more!
Bells! Cannon! Music! Anthems! Jubilee!
Cheers! Shouts of triumph! Praises! Alleluias!
All sounds of rapture! Strong men's voices roar
Like multitudinous surgings of the seas!
Woman's shrill choral, like a silver peal
Of sweet-toned trumpets, thrills the ecstatic air!
And prattling clamors of young children steal
Like the soft patter of the summer rain
Between the boom of thunders! "Maryland!"
A thousand voices echo! "Maryland!"
"Ho! Maryland is free!" Bless God! Bless God!
"Ho! Maryland is free! is free! is free!
This day! This hour! Ho! Ho! Maryland is free!
Is free forever!"

Faintly on the ear
Of him who lies there dying, comes the cry,
And all its vast, sublime significance
He knows full well. He knows that his own State
That nursed his infancy, and made him great,
And gloried in his greatness as her son,
Has cast aside his bonds, as erst of old
The mighty Danite rent the withes and webs
That bound his glorious limbs and unshorn locks,
As Slavery pinioned hers! He hears that sound,
And knows it as the first and faintest gust
Of Freedom's Northern whirlwind, that shall sweep
Bondage, with all her dire array of laws,
Decisions, precedents, seductions, frowns,
Clean from the land forever, and from earth,
Ere lulls its fury, for it is God's breath,
Shaking the nations! On his failing ear,
As this last sound of earth dies out, he knows
That, e'en at this same moment, while he sets,
As some black orb of gloom, with all the past,
Whose history, like his shadow, quits the world
With him, unmourned; a fair and heavenly morn,
Like that when Jesus left the garden tomb,
Is opening soft as Eden's rosy dawn,
Sweet as the smile of heaven on a new world!
God pity him, who sees not as man sees,
And hath, perchance, more mercy left in store
Than man has dreamed of. Hush—The judge is gone!

## *THE CHURCHES OF WASHINGTON.*

[The Washington correspondent of the *Independent*, under date Jan. 2d, says:]

Not many of our *white* clergymen made reference yesterday to the momentous act of two years ago. Of course there were exceptions to the rule of silence. Channing is ever bold and truthful, and never forgets the colored race. Two or three other white clergymen referred in appropriate terms to the war and the Emancipation Proclamation; but the most of them avoided the subject. This may seem strange to Northern readers who are thinking of an Anti-Slavery Administration and thousands of Republican employees in Washington. But these employees are not all anti-slavery, and, so far as I can learn, the President and every member of his Cabinet attend churches where there has never been an allusion from the pulpit to the Proclamation of Emancipation; in other words, pro-slavery Churches. Dr. Sunderland was pastor of one of the first Churches here, and he preached the whole of God's truth upon this subject; but I have never heard that any prominent member of the Administration was led by his courage and devotion to take a pew in his church. This is said not by way of criticism, but merely to show why it is that the Washington churches are so far behind many of their Northern sisters in this respect. The Administration exerts little influence upon them; for it neither patronizes Anti-Slavery Churches and clergymen, nor refuses to listen to the preaching of men whose sympathies have always been with the master and against the slave. Events, however, will, in time, moderate the pro-slavery prejudices of even a Washington Church.

[The conduct of the Administration and its friends, in attending pro-slavery churches, is, in our judgment, inexcusable and disgraceful.—*Editor.*]

Mr. Greeley's "History of the American Conflict" is selling very rapidly, wholly by subscription. Seventy thousand copies have been disposed of within six months, and a German edition will appear this month. Mr Greeley's peculiar qualifications for the preparation of a work like this have enabled him to make it a trustworthy record of the period it describes; for although the first volume deals only with the beginning of the rebellion, it gives an excellent comprehensive view of the causes, operating through a long course of years, which produced the outbreak, and the citations from official authorities are copious and accurate. As it is exclusively a subscription book, canvassing agents will afford an opportunity for all who desire the work to secure it. J. C. Derby, 5 Spruce street, is the general agent for the sale.—*Eve. Post.*

## *STORIES OF THE PRESIDENT.*

[A writer in the *Watchman and Reflector* tells the following stories of the President:]

Mr. Lincoln has a fund of humor which, though not always dignified, is harmless. It is ever apt and ready, and doubtless among all the wearing sorrows of his public life, has afforded him relief when he would otherwise have broken down under his heavy load. This jocoseness is sometimes grim and sarcastic. It is always playful, yet is never abusive, and seldom wounds. Often it is nicely adapted to the place and occasion, and is used with great effect. It is one form of that humor that is not uncommon in New England, especially in rural districts, and which, in a higher and more cultivated development, adorn the pages of Holmes, Lowell, and others of our literary men. About two years ago, when the Prince of Wales was soon to marry the Princess Alexandra, Queen Victoria sent a letter to each of the sovereigns, informing them of her son's betrothal, and among the rest to President Lincoln. Lord Lyons, her ambassador at Washington, and who, by the way, is unmarried, requested an audience of Mr. Lincoln, that he might present this important document in person. At the time appointed he was received at the White House, in company with Mr. Seward.

"May it please your Excellency," said Lord Lyons, "I hold in my hand an autograph letter from my royal mistress, Queen Victoria, which I have been commanded to present to your Excellency. In it she informs your Excellency that her son, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, is about to contract a matrimonial alliance with her Royal Highness the Princess Alexandra of Denmark."

After continuing in this strain for a few minutes, Lord Lyons tendered the letter to the President and awaited his reply. It was short, simple and expressive, and consisted simply of the words:

"Lord Lyons, go thou and do likewise."

We doubt if any English ambassador was ever addressed in this manner before, and would be glad to learn what success he met with in putting the reply in diplomatic language when he reported it to her Majesty.

It is said that sometime since, when a deputation of clergymen presented an address to the President, in which he was styled "a pillar of the Church," he quaintly, and perhaps truthfully, remarked that "they would have done much better to call him a steeple."

[Rev. Dr. Adams of Philadelphia, in his recent Thanksgiving discourse, speaking of an early morning call upon Mr. Lincoln, made the following statement:]

"Morning came, and I hastened my toilet, and found myself, at a quarter to *five*, in the waiting-room of the President. I asked the usher if I could see Mr. Lincoln. He said I could not. 'But I have an engagement to meet him this morning.' 'At what hour?' 'At five o'clock.' 'Well, sir, he will see you at five.' I then walked to and fro for a few minutes, and hearing a voice as if in grave conversation, I asked the servant—'Who is talking in the next room?' 'It is the President, sir.' 'Is anybody with him?' 'No, sir, he is reading the Bible.' 'Is that his habit so early in the morning?' 'Yes, sir, he spends every morning, from four o'clock to five, in reading the Scriptures and praying.'"

## *AMERICAN SPOOL COTTON.*

[The Boston *Daily Advertiser* of the 2d instant contains an article from the pen of Mrs. Caroline H. Dall, the well-known Secretary of the Boston Ladies' Loyal League, commending to more general use the home-made spool cotton, which is said to be superior to the foreign article. We print the article below:]

No. 70 Warren Avenue,
Boston, December 26, 1864.

*To the Editors of the Boston Daily Advertiser:*

Will you permit me to direct the attention of your readers to the spool cotton manufactured at the Hadley Mills in Holyoke? When a new article is pressing for a market, it seems hardly worth while to defer all mention of it until the publication of our report as a committee. In the mills and stock this company have invested nearly a million of dollars, and they expect to turn out ten thousand dozen spools daily. It is of great importance to American women to have this particular manufacture perfected.

Not only is cotton injured by crossing the ocean, but its strength is materially diminished by the length of time which elapses between its manufacture and its use. All companies that use sewing-machines have also an interest involved. It will be a great convenience for such companies to order an unlimited supply of thread of the exact size they require, which cannot be done with ease when the order is trans-Atlantic. * * * * * * *

Those ladies who still cling to the idea of lowering the price of gold may be glad to know that millions are exported annually to pay for spool cotton. Nothing but a foolish prejudice in favor of the foreign article stands in the way of the entire success of the Hadley cotton. On the other hand, more than one motive may be presented to loyal women in favor of its use.

Some time since a purely charitable effort was made by a few capitalists to help the freedmen of Port Royal in the cultivation of Sea Island cotton. We owe it to the freedmen to admit that this intended charity turned out a profitable venture, and every year this crop is likely to increase. Hitherto the Sea Island cotton has been consumed by English manufacturers, but if the Hadley Company is sustained, it will be able to say to these charitable capitalists, and to the freedmen who work with and for them, "Produce all you can, we will give you a market"; and this crop brought to Massachusetts will not only escape the heavy insurance against pirates, and the risk of foreign sale, but will furnish a new employment to hundreds of women. So Massachusetts may become the pioneer in a great free labor movement.

She will grow her own cotton—
Erect the mills—
Build the machinery, and
Manufacture the thread.

To those who, like the Boston committee, have looked into the channels of trade chiefly to be disgusted at the narrow selfishness which controls both manufacture and sale, this opens a cheering outlook. They, surely, have a right to encouragement who hold out a prospect of new work for white women and profitable labor for black freedmen, and a growing wealth for those who understand its best uses.

Very truly yours, Caroline H. Dall.

A Letter from the President.—The following letter from President Lincoln will be read with interest, particularly by members of the Society of Friends. It was written by the President prior to his reëlection to Mrs. Eliza P. Gurney, the widow of the late well-known Friend and philanthropist, Joseph John Gurney, who was one of the wealthiest bankers of London. Mrs. Gurney is an American lady, and since her husband's death has resided at Burlington, N. J.:

My Esteemed Friend: I have not forgotten, probably never shall forget, the very impressive occasion when yourself and friends visited me on a Sabbath forenoon two years ago. Nor had your kind letter, written nearly a year later, ever been forgotten. In all it has been your purpose to strengthen my reliance in God. I am much indebted to the good Christian people of the country for their constant prayers and consolations, and to no one of them more than to yourself. The purposes of the Almighty are perfect and must prevail, though we erring mortals may fail to accurately perceive them in advance.

We hoped for a happy termination of this terrible war, long before this, but God knows best, and has ruled otherwise. We shall yet acknowledge His wisdom and our own errors therein; meanwhile we must work earnestly in the best lights He gives us, trusting that so working still conduces to the great ends He ordains. Surely He intends some great good to follow this mighty convulsion, which no mortal could make, and no mortal could stay.

Your people—the Friends—have had, and are having very great trials, on principles and faith opposed to both war and oppression. They can only practically oppose oppression by war. In this hard dilemma, some have chosen one horn and some the other.

For those appealing to me on conscientious grounds, I have done and shall do the best I could and can, in my own conscience under my oath to the law. That you believe this, I doubt not, and believing it, I shall still receive for our country and myself your earnest prayers to our Father in heaven.

Your sincere friend, A. Lincoln.

Mahommedan and American Slavery Compared.—You have never heard from me any fierce indignation against Mahommedan or Brazilian slavery. If American slavery now stood as Washington left it—declining, deplored, and faintly apologized for—with the light of freedom, free speech, and the opinion of leading men undermining it, I should see nothing in it to threaten the morality of Europe and the welfare of the world. If I were an American, with such a slavery surrounding me as Washington left, I should prefer to see it die under moral influences, rather than destroyed by bloodshed and convulsion. But the exceptional characteristic of the Confederate Slave Power is (as distinctly stated by its Vice-President), that it exists solely to glorify and immortalize slavery. It is no longer apologetic, but fanatically self-righteous and propagandist. It violently suppresses free speech on the part of its own citizens against the sacred institution of slavery, and makes any amelioration impossible. If you, a humane man, were a planter in Georgia or South Carolina, and dared to propose to modify the wickedest of its wicked laws, your life would not be safe for a day. Do you know that our friend, ———, was warned out of Washington, and forced to escape for his life, for a two-fold offence? 1, That he had been present at an Abolition meeting in the North. 2, In Washington he waited tenderly on the sick bed of a slave.—*Prof. Newman's Letter to a Friend.*

## RETROSPECT.

O, Loving One, O, Bounteous One,
What have I not received from Thee,
Throughout the seasons that have gone
Into the past eternity!

Lowly my name, and mine estate,
Yet, Father, many a child of Thine,
Of purer heart, and cleaner hands,
Walks in an humbler path than mine.

And looking backward through the year,
Along the way my feet have pressed,
I see sweet places everywhere,
Sweet places, where my soul had rest.

For, though some human hopes of mine
Are dead, and buried from my sight,
Yet from their graves immortal flowers
Have sprung, and blossomed into light.

Body, and heart, and soul, have been
Fed by the most convenient food;
My nights are peaceful all the while,
And all my mortal days are good.

My sorrows have not been so light,
The chastening hand I could not trace;
Nor have my blessings been so great
That they have hid my Father's face.

January 1st. Phœbe Cary.
—*Evening Post.*

Want of Decision.—A great deal of talent is lost to the world for the want of a little courage. Every day sends to their graves a number of obscure men, who have only remained in obscurity because their timidity has prevented them from making a first effort, and who, if they only had been induced to begin, would, in all probability, have gone great lengths in the career of fame. The fact is, that in doing anything in the world worth doing, we must not stand shivering on the bank thinking of the cold and danger, but jump in and scramble through as well as we can. It will not do to be perpetually calculating risks and adjusting nice chances; it did very well before the flood, when a man could consult his friends upon an intended publication for a hundred and fifty years, and live to see its success for six or seven centuries afterwards; but at present a man waits and doubts, and consults his brothers, and his uncles, and his particular friends, till one day he finds that he is sixty-five years of age, that he has lost so much time in consulting first cousins and particular friends that he has no more time to follow their advice. There is so little time for oversqueamishness at present, that the opportunity slips away. The very period of life at which man chooses to venture, if ever, is so confined, that it is no bad rule to preach up the necessity, in such instances, of a little violence done to the feelings, and efforts made in defiance of strict and sober calculation.—*Sidney Smith.*

The Order of the Golden Fleece, the collar of which has recently been conferred by the Emperor of Austria on Count de Rechberg, was founded Jan. 10, 1429, by Phillippe III., Duke of Burgundy. The right of conferring the order was acquired by Austria by the marriage of the Emperor Maximilian I. to Princess Maria, heiress of the last Duke of Burgundy. The Peace of Basie confirmed the right. But after the death of Charles V., the Kings of Spain claimed the right on the ground of their being more direct descendants of the founder. The Golden Fleece is, therefore, now conferred both by the House of Austria and by the Court of Madrid—with this difference, that the former only gives the collar as a reward for eminent services rendered to the dynasty and to the State. It is for that reason that at the Court of Vienna great prerogatives are attached to the order. The Knights have a right of precedence over the Ministers and high dignitaries and take their place immediately after the members of the Imperial family. In public solemnities and ceremonies they surround the Emperor, who, in writing to them, gives them the title of "My Cousin." The death of every member of the order is announced to the whole body by an autograph letter of the Emperor.

# Advertisements.


GROVESTEEN & CO.,

PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,

499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over-strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

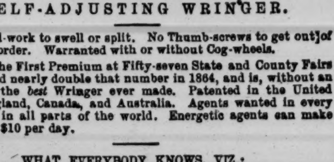
No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

Terms—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

PUTNAM'S CLOTHES WRINGER



IT IS THE ONLY RELIABLE
SELF-ADJUSTING WRINGER.

No Wood-work to swell or split. No Thumb-screws to get out of order. Warranted with or without Cog-wheels.

It took the First Premium at Fifty-seven State and County Fairs in 1863, and nearly double that number in 1864, and is, without an exception, the *best* Wringer ever made. Patented in the United States, England, Canada, and Australia. Agents wanted in every town, and in all parts of the world. Energetic agents can make from $3 to $10 per day.

WHAT EVERYBODY KNOWS, VIZ.:

That Iron well galvanized *will not rust.*
That a *simple* machine is better than a complicated one.
That a Wringer should be *self-adjusting, durable and efficient.*
That thumb-screws and fastenings cause *delay* and *trouble* to regulate and keep in order.
That wood soaked in water will *swell, shrink,* and *split.*
That wood-bearings for the shaft to run in *will wear out.*
That the Putnam Wringer, with or without cog-wheels, will *not tear the clothes.*
That cog-wheel regulators are not essential.
That the Putnam Wringer has *all* the advantages, and *not one* of the disadvantages above named.
That all who have tried it pronounce it the *best* Wringer ever made.
That it will ring a thread or a bed-quilt *without alteration.*

We might fill the paper with testimonials, but insert only a few to convince the skeptical, if such there be; and we say to all, *test* Putnam's Wringer. Test it *thoroughly* with *any* and *all* others, and if not entirely satisfactory, return it.

Putnam Manufacturing Co.—Gentlemen; I know from practical experience that iron well galvanized with zinc will not oxydize or rust one particle. The Putnam Wringer is as near perfect as possible, and I can cheerfully recommend it to be the best in use.
Respectfully yours, John W. Wheeler, Cleveland, O.

Many years experience in the galvanizing business enables me to indorse the above statement in *all particulars.*
John C. Lefferts, No. 100 Beekman Street.

New York, January, 1864.—We have tested Putnam's Clothes Wringer by practical working, and know that it will do. It is cheap; it is simple; it requires no room, whether at work or at rest; a child can operate it; it does its duty thoroughly; it saves time, and it saves wear and tear. We earnestly advise all who have much washing to do, with all intelligent persons who have *any*, to buy this Wringer. It will pay for itself in a year at most.
Horace Greeley.

Prices, $8, $9, and $10.
Sample Wringers sent, express paid, on receipt of price.
Manufactured and sold, wholesale and retail, by
PUTNAM MANUFACTURING CO.,
13 Platt Street, New York.
Bennington, Vt.
Cleveland, O.

BUFFALO ROBES direct from the Indian country 5,000 robes for sale, wholesale or retail, at very low prices Also Horse Blankets cheap and good. THOS. W. MATTSON,
[402 Market st., 1st door above 4th St.

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SEWING MACHINE.

It is entirely noiseless.
A patented device prevents its being turned backward.
The needle cannot be set wrong.
The Hemmer, Feller, and Braider are acknowledged to be superior to all others.
It received the Gold Medal of the American Institute in 1863.
It also received the first premium for "The Best Sewing Machine," at the great "New England Fair," the "Vermont State Fair," the "Pennsylvania State Fair," and the "Indiana State Fair," 1864.
Send for a circular containing full information, notices from the press, testimonials from those using the machine, etc.
JAMES WILCOX, Manufacturer,
508 Broadway, New York.

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WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP
Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July* 1, 1863

"J. D. West & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 130 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. Dunlap Manufacturing Co."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:
"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . . It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"Great Neck, L. I., 1860.
"I have used this Pump for one Summer and Winter, exposed to the northwest wind coming over Long Island Sound, being the coldest possible exposure, and at no time did it freeze, nor were we unable at any time to pump water with great ease.
"H. B. McIlvain."

"The undersigned, having to use 'West's Improved Pumps,' cheerfully recommend them as simple, durable, and powerful in raising and throwing water, and for their ease of action, security against frost, and low price, we believe them superior to all others.
"Warren Leland, Met. Hotel, N. Y.
"J. W. Pomeroy, Yonkers, N. Y.
"John Messereau, N. Y.
"Dominick Lawrence, Westchester."

*From the New York Observer.*

"We have had in use for months past one of West's Pumps, which has given us more satisfaction, as a force and lifting pump, than any we have ever used. It is one of great power, and well adapted for ship's decks, mines, factories, greenhouses, graperies, etc. The *Mining Chronicle and Railway Journal* says, 'It is recommended for its extreme simplicity of construction, great strength, and consequent durability and cheapness of repair. There is no stuffing-box—the pressure being held by a cup packing, like that upon the working-piston, working in a cylinder, fitted for the purpose within the upper air chamber—which we think a great improvement, as stuffing is so liable to be deranged and leak under strong pressure, to say nothing of the loss by friction incident thereto. It has also two air-chambers; thus the action of the valve is cushioned upon both sides by air—preventing water-hammer and vacuum-thump. The valves are very accessible, and simply and cheaply repaired. They work much easier than any pump we have ever seen; the 4 inch cylinder being worked by children in wells 100 feet deep, and as they are extremely cheap, as well as simple and strong, we freely recommend them.'"

"Cambridge Mine, N. C., June 15, 1863.
"J. D. West & Co.—Gents. The pump which I ordered for our mine is received, and put to work in our underlay shaft, which we are sinking. We find that one man will, with ease, lift 50 gallons per minute. We lifted in three and a half hours all the water in the shaft, which measures seven by twelve feet and thirty feet deep, and it was full when we commenced. It answers our expectations in every respect, and our workmen are highly pleased with it. It will do great service with but trifling expense for repairs.
"Yours, respectfully, Burr Higgins."

"This may certify that I have been using, at my manufactory, for the last four years, 'West's Improved Pumps.' I now have in use three of said pumps, one of which is kept constantly at work, 24 hours of each day (save Sundays), and has been running for the past two years. I pronounce them, unhesitatingly, the best pumps that have been brought to my notice, having used many others previously. They are simple in their construction, and not easily disarranged. Jas. A. Webb.
"N. Y., October 10, 1859."

We have plenty more such certificates, but think these are enough. For Pumps, Hose, Pipe, etc., address or call upon
J. D. WEST & CO., 179 Broadway, N. Y.
Orders may be sent through the American Advertising Agency, 389 Broadway.

DON'T FAIL TO READ THIS.

*COFFEE! COFFEE!! COFFEE!!!*

THE EAST INDIA COFFEE CO.,
154 READE STREET (three doors from Greenwich Street), N. Y.
Call universal attention to their
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
ONLY TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER POUND.

KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has all the flavor of OLD GOVERNMENT JAVA, and is but half the price; and also that
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
has TWICE THE STRENGTH OF JAVA, or any other Coffee whatever; and wherever used by our first-class hotels and steamboats, the stewards say there is a saving of 50 per cent.
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is the most healthy beverage known, and is very nutritious. The weak and infirm may use it at all times with impunity. The wife of the Rev. W. Eaves, local minister of the M. E. Church, Jersey City, who has not been able to use any Coffee for fifteen years, can use
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
three times a day without injury, it being entirely free from those properties that produce nervous excitement.
Dr. JAMES BOYLE, of 156 CHAMBERS STREET, says: "I have never known any Coffee so healthful, nutritious, and free from all injurious qualities as
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE.
I advise my patients to drink it universally, even those to whom I have hitherto prohibited the use of Coffee."
The Principal of the NEW YORK EYE INFIRMARY says: "I direct all the patients of our institution to use exclusively
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
and would not be without it on any account."
The Rev. C. LARUE, an eminent clergyman of the M. E. Church, now stationed at Halsey street, Newark, says of
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE:
"I have used it nearly a year in my family, and find it produces no ache of the head or nervous irritation, as in the case of all other Coffees. It is exceedingly pleasant, and I cordially recommend it to all clergymen and their families."
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE
is used daily by the families of Bishop Ames, Bishop Baker, and many of the most distinguished clergymen and professional men in the country.
*BEWARE OF COUNTERFEITS!*
and be sure that the packages are labelled
KENT'S EAST INDIA COFFEE,
154 READE STREET, NEW YORK,
as there are numerous counterfeits afloat under the name of "Genuine East India Coffee," "Original East India Coffee," etc., put forth by impostors to deceive the unwary.
In 1 lb. packages, and in boxes of 36, 60 and 100 lbs., for Grocers and large Consumers. *Sold by Grocers generally.*
WHOLESALE AGENTS, to whom Western Grocers may send their orders: S. N. Callender, Buffalo; James Mills, Pittsburg; Gordon, McMillan & Co., Cleveland; Aaron A. Colter & Co., Cincinnati; J. & J. W. Bunn, Springfield, Ill.; Sawyer & Starrett, Indianapolis.

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Constantly on hand a general assortment of ready-made Coffins and every requisite for Funerals furnished on the most accommodating terms.
Lead Coffins furnished at the shortest notice.
Lots, Half Lots, and Single Graves, in all the principal Cemeteries, for sale.

PRIZE MEDAL awarded in London, in 1851, for his superiority over all others in the manufacture of Travelling Trunks, Carpet Bags, Valices, Coaches, Hobby Horses and sole leather, steel spring, iron frame, iron-bound Trunks of all descriptions, of the best materials and workmanship. Black Leather Enamelled Bags, at the lowest prices.
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Single copies sent by mail prepaid on receipt of $3.
Canvassers wanted for every section of the country.
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Every one his own Salesman.
JONES & CO., of the Crescent One Price Clothing Store, No. 604 Market street, above 6th, in addition to having the largest, most varied and fashionable stock of clothing in Philadelphia, made expressly for retail sales, have constituted every one his own salesman, by having marked in figures, on each article, the very lowest price it can be sold for, so they cannot possibly vary—all must buy alike. The goods are all well sponged and prepared and great pains taken with the making, so that all can buy with full assurance of getting a good article at the very lowest price
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